TEA DISTRICTS LABOUR ASSOCIATION

HAND-BOOK

OF

CASTES AND TRIBES

Employed on Tea Estates in North-East India.

Compiled in the office of the Secretaries of the
Tea Districts Labour Association, Calcutta,
and
Printed for Private Circulation only.

PRINTED BY A. ROW AT THE CATHOLIC ORPHAN PRESS
3 & 4, PORTUGUESE CHURCH STREET, CALCUTTA
1924.

Price Rs. 6

FOREWORD.

At my suggestion, the compilation of this volume has been undertaken by members of the Staff of the Tea Districts Labour Association, presenting in a convenient form information bearing on the various castes and tribes employed on Tea Estates in Northern India The necessity for such a book of reference has been suggested to me by Managers, who have not the leisure to go to the original sources for the information they require, but who realise the disabilities under which they labour from lack of a knowledge of the idiosyncracies of the people with whom they work. As originally planned, the scheme was to have consisted of a table of castes and tribes and their habitat, together with descriptive notes, introductory chapters have now been added, it being felt that a general survey of primitive peoples and the stages by which they have evolved their superstitions and beliefs was necessary and would avoid much repetition in the discussion of particular communities (Thurston's "Castes and Tribes of Southern India," Russell's "Castes and Tribes of the Central Provinces," Risley and Crooke have been freely drawn upon throughout

It is not adequately realised what it means to primitive people suddenly to be transported from the spacious freedom of a Central India forest to the more restricted conditions of life on a Tea Garden, where, in addition to the cramping environment of civilization, a radical difference in climate has to be endured Some discipline there must be on every Garden in the interests of the health of the labourers no less than in the interests of industrial efficiency. Such discipline is not likely to be irksome or ill-directed if the Manager's dealings with his labour force are guided by sympathy and knowledge

To get and still more to keep labour is becoming yearly a more and more vital factor in the prosperity of the Tea Industry and the duty of a Manager to study the habits and customs of his

heterogeneous labour force cannot be too strongly emphasised The industrial development of India is annually bringing fresh competitors into the labour market and as the competition which Tea as an industry has to face becomes keener, so also will the comparative attractions of particular Estates exercise an increasing influence on their supply of labour.

Competition is forcing the Industry to look further afield for its labour supply, and tribes and castes new or little known to Assam are likely to be drawn upon more and more in coming years It is obvious that on the experience of the first batches of such new emigrants will depend the success or failure of the venture It therefore has become increasingly necessary for all Managers to devote their serious attention to the problem and a close study of this book will prove of great assistance to them Tact and sympathy will go far towards reconciling strange peoples to the new environment, but unless these personal qualities are reinforced by knowledge, we cannot hope for more than partial success in our endeavours to solve the labour problems of the Industry

I should be lacking in appreciation if I did not express to the authors the thanks of the Industry for the trouble they have taken in compiling this publication I know it has made heavy inroads on their leisure, but I feel confident that their work will be appreciated

T C CRAWFORD,
Chairman,
Indian Tea Association

TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOREWORD

By T. C Crawford, Esq , M L C , *Chairman, Indian Tea Association*

PART I

PART II

APPENDICES

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY

The last quarter of a century in India has witnessed a rapid growth in all branches of industry, an unprecedented exploitation of mineral products and a very marked advance in railway and allied enterprises, the possibilities of Indian resources have been realised and capital has responded readily to any call which promised an adequate return The years have seen the initiation and application of European science to the development of Coal Mines, Manganese Mines, Jute and Cotton Mills, Tea Estates, Sugar and Lac Factories, Iron and Steel Works

With the development of these industries has come an increased demand for labour to meet the exigencies of the changed conditions, until now, the position is such that the supply of available labour, even of the most unskilled type, is by no means equal to the demand Competition in securing the requisite labour has accordingly been intensified and an already difficult position has been rendered more acute by reason of the fact that indigenous labour is insufficient to meet even local requirements for agriculture The question of caste and traditional occupation is a very important factor in the labour problems of the present day—certain castes having acquired a social status by reason of their occupation and any deviation from the prescribed and recognised means of subsistence renders the offender liable to social ostracism

Industry has, for the reasons stated above, been compelled to exploit all available sources of labour supply and with the passing of time, these sources have become farther and farther removed from the scene where the labour is required Various systems for tapping new areas and recruiting labour have been applied, but all have necessarily been governed by economic conditions obtaining in the recruiting districts and the expense entailed in pioneer enterprises of this character, has not been inconsiderable

The inherent migratory tendencies of Indian labour, coupled with the easy and comparatively cheap facilities afforded for free

CHAPTER I

Introductory

The last quarter of a century in India has witnessed a rapid growth in all branches of industry, an unprecedented exploitation of mineral products and a very marked advance in railway and allied enterprises, the possibilities of Indian resources have been realised and capital has responded readily to any call which promised an adequate return The years have seen the initiation and application of European science to the development of Coal Mines, Manganese Mines, Jute and Cotton Mills, Tea Estates, Sugar and Lac Factories, Iron and Steel Works

With the development of these industries has come an increased demand for labour to meet the exigencies of the changed conditions, until now, the position is such that the supply of available labour, even of the most unskilled type, is by no means equal to the demand Competition in securing the requisite labour has accordingly been intensified and an already difficult position has been rendered more acute by reason of the fact that indigenous labour is insufficient to meet even local requirements for agriculture The question of caste and traditional occupation is a very important factor in the labour problems of the present day—certain castes having acquired a social status by reason of their occupation and any deviation from the prescribed and recognised means of subsistence renders the offender liable to social ostracism

Industry has, for the reasons stated above, been compelled to exploit all available sources of labour supply and with the passing of time, these sources have become farther and farther removed from the scene where the labour is required Various systems for tapping new areas and recruiting labour have been applied, but all have necessarily been governed by economic conditions obtaining in the recruiting districts and the expense entailed in pioneer enterprises of this character, has not been inconsiderable

The inherent migratory tendencies of Indian labour, coupled with the easy and comparatively cheap facilities afforded for free

movement, have also added to the difficulties of settling labour on an Estate or Factory From the point of view of recruiting expenditure alone, it is manifestly desirable that everything possible should be done to *attract* labour as permanent settlers The attainment of this object depends to a very great extent upon the exhibition of a sympathetic understanding, on the part of the management, of the characteristics and idiosyncracies of the particular type of labour it is desired to settle When this sympathetic relationship has been established, *wanderlust* may be subdued, the labourer realising a sense of security and contentment in his new surroundings

It is with the object of assisting Tea Garden Managers and others concerned with Indian labour to a better understanding of the temperament, characteristics, caste traditions and obligations of their employees, that this compilation has been attempted

The recruiting districts for the Tea Industry of North-East India in particular, cover a wide expanse of territory and labour is obtained from areas as widely separated as Jubbulpore in Central India and Midnapur in Bengal, Gorakhpur at the Himalayan foothills and Coconada on the Madras Coast The majority of Tea Gardens in Assam can muster representatives of every tribe and caste domiciled within these boundaries and a veritable Babel of dialects and languages is heard at the weekly garden hâts held in Assam

It is true that the newly arrived emigrant very soon acquires the *garden bat*, a curious mixture of Assamese, Hindustani and Bengali and it is seldom necessary for a Manager to speak any other tongue than this *lingua franca* Individual Planters, however, and there have been not a few, who have mastered Mundari, Santali, Gondi, or one or other of the local *patois*, have been amply repaid for the time and trouble expended over the acquisition Apart from the fact that a knowledge of the coolies' vernacular promotes *personal* contact with the labour force, a language cannot be learned without at the same time obtaining information relative to the psychology of those who speak that particular tongue

It is generally recognised that a Garden Manager's personality has full value only if he is in the position to dispense with the services of an interpreter when desiring to converse with or obtain information from his labour Wherever it is necessary to resort to the services of an interpreter there is always the risk of mistranslation, misrepresentation and exploitation of both parties The acquisition of a language is dependent mainly upon the temperament of the student and the amount of leisure at his disposal a dogged persistency in mastering the rudiments of syntax and grammar together with constant use of the first few phrases learnt —even at the risk of causing amusement to his hearers—is the surest and easiest means to facile expression and comprehension To those desiring a knowledge of the principal castes and tribes, their origin, customs, religious beliefs and festivals, the case is somewhat different A voluminous literature dealing with these subjects is already in existence, but the treatment is, for the most part, exhaustive and full of detail of no particular interest to the employer of Indian labour, the publications are expensive and bulky and only a privileged few have the leisure carefully to study the various works for the sake of extracting information which might prove useful The object of this work is to present such information in a summarised and readily accessible form

The employer of Indian labour is in a curious position to-day, particularly in regard to its recruitment The only legal form of recruiting for Tea Gardens situated in Assam is through the medium of the "sirdari system" Sirdars, who are themselves "labourers" on an Estate, are consigned to the districts from which they were originally imported, with the object of persuading their relatives and former co-villagers to accompany them to Assam, on their return, they hoe, pluck or prune as the case may be, side by side with their recruits, they are held responsible, often physically, for any misrepresentation as to the conditions under which labour has to work, of which they may have been guilty whilst in the recruiting districts

For some years past, the "sirdari" system of recruitment adopted by the Tea industry of Assam has been a model for

CHAPTER II

Caste and Occupation

A clear understanding of what is meant by "caste," especially in regard to its relationship to "occupation," is of first importance. Several learned treatises on this subject, both by Europeans and Indians, are in existence. The Indian Census reports, however, contain most of the information needed for the purposes of this work and much of what follows has been culled therefrom. Anyone wishing to follow up the subject should obtain the Reports of the Census operations of 1901, 1911 and 1921.

The Indian word for caste, "jat" or "jati," is derived from a root meaning *birth, lineage, rank*. The expression now connotes that every Hindu is *born into* a caste and his caste determines his social position through life.

The legendary origin of caste is that the Aryans were divided from the dawn of time into four castes: (1) Brahmans or Priests, (2) Kshatriyas or warriors, (3) Vaishyas or merchants and cultivators, and (4) Sudras or menials and labourers, all of whom had a divine origin being born respectively from the mouth, the arms, the thighs and the feet of Brahma. In the beginning, a man of any of the three higher castes, provided that his first marriage was with a woman of his own caste, could wed others of the divisions below his own. The marriage, however, of a woman of a higher caste with a man of a lower one was abhorrent and the offspring were relegated to the lowest position in society. In this manner other castes originated.

Modern opinion while it recognises that this traditional genealogy may possibly be correct so far as the formation of certain new castes goes, holds that "*occupation*" is the chief basis of caste, every separate occupation having produced a distinct caste, the status of which depends mainly or almost entirely on its occupation. Mr J. C. Nesfield held the view, indeed, that the *whole* basis of the caste system is the division of occupations, and that the social gradation of castes corresponds precisely to the different

periods of civilization during which their traditional occupation originated " Thus the lowest castes are those allied to the primitive occupation of hunting, *e g* , Pasi, Bhar, Bahelia, because the pursuit of wild animals was the earliest stage in the development of human industry Next above these come the fishing castes, fishing being considered somewhat superior to hunting because water is a more sacred element among the Hindus than land, and there is less apparent cruelty in the capturing of fish than in the slaughtering of animals, these are the Kahars, Kewats, Dhimais and others Above these come the pastoral castes—Ghasi, Gadaria, Gujar and Ahir, and above them the agricultural castes, following the order in which these occupations were adopted during the progress of civilization At the top of the system stand the Chhatri or warrior, whose duty it is to protect all the lower castes, and the Brahman who is their priest and spiritual guide Similarly, the artisan castes are divided into two main groups, the lower one consists of those whose occupations preceded the age of metallurgy, as the Chamais and Mochis or tanners, Koris or weavers, the Telis or oil-pressers, Kalars or liquor distillers, Kumhars or potters, and Lunias or salt makers The higher group includes those castes whose occupations were coeval with the age of metallurgy, that is, those who work in stone, wood and metals, and who make clothing and ornaments, as the Barhai or worker in wood, the Lohar or worker in iron, the Kasera or Thathera, workers in brass, and the Sonar or worker in precious metals, ranking precisely in this order of precedence, the Sonar being the highest The theory is still further developed among the trading castes, who are arranged in a similar manner, beginning from the Banjara or forest trader, the Kunjra or green grocer, and the Bharbhunjia or grain parcher, up to the classes of Banias and Khatris or shopkeepers and Bankers "

Mr Russell points out that it can hardly be supposed that the Hindus, either consciously or subconsciously arranged their gradation of society on a scientific order of precedence in the manner described, and suggests that the main divisions of social precedence, which have been correctly stated by Nesfield, arose naturally from the divisions of the principal social organization of India, the village community It may be mentioned here that

when discussing the Mundas, we shall meet a people who have retained the communal system of village life in a very great degree of completeness

Sir Herbert Risley, on the other hand, in his "Castes and Tribes of Bengal" lays stress on the *racial basis* of caste, endeavouring to show that difference of race and difference of colour were the foundation of the Indian caste system There seems reason to suppose, he argues, that the contact of the Aryans with the indigenous people of India was, to a large extent, responsible for the growth of the caste system, and the main racial basis may perhaps even now be recognised, though this racial basis has, in a great degree, vanished

M Emile Senart in his work "Les Castes dans l'Inde" approaches the subject historically and from an analysis of the Vedas He has come to the conclusion that the institution of caste as it is at present understood, did not exist among the Aryans of the Vedic period on their first entry into India The word *varna*, literally "colour," which is afterwards used in speaking of the four castes, distinguishes in the Vedas *two* classes only there are the Arya Varna and the Dasa Varna—the Aryan race and the race of enemies In other passages of the Vedas the Dasyus are spoken of as black, while in later literature the black race, Krishna Varna, are opposed to the Brahmans, the same word being used for the distinction between Aryas and Sudras "Dasya" is used in the Vedas as signifying "people of foreign countries," just as the Hebrews spoke of all others as "Gentiles," and the Mundas to-day refer to non-Mundas as "Diku"

Originally therefore there were two groups, one composed of the three higher castes, and the other of the Sudras or lowest It is probable the first group was entirely Aryan, while the Sudras were the aliens amongst whom the Aryans were settling There was for a long period no absorption, no large intermingling of the two groups The power of religion was invoked to prevent any fusion and the idea of "untouchability" was established A Sudra was excluded from religious ceremonies and could take no part in sacrifices, he was not even permitted to hear, much less to learn, commit to memory or recite Vedic texts. An Arya who

had sexual intimacy with a Sudra woman was to be banished, but a Sudra man having intimacy with an Arya woman was to be killed. One cannot but admire the precautions taken for race preservation by those cousins of our own remote ancestors, who, having the main body of Aryans in Central Asia trekked south into Hindustan

As time unfolded, however, the Sudras had to be admitted to the Aryan body politic, though in the most humiliating fashion The hostility, essentially racial, was felt and expressed on religious grounds. Later, possibly owing to the shortage of Aryan women, it became lawful for an Aryan to take to wife a Sudra woman, and the ultimate result, which we see to-day, has been an almost complete fusion between the two races in the bulk of the population over the greater part of the country. Nevertheless the status of Sudra still remains attached to the large community of the impure castes formed from the indigenous tribes who have settled in Hindu villages and entered the caste system. These are relegated to the most degrading and menial occupations and their touch is regarded as conveying defilement

Indigenous tribes have not always been reduced to the impure status; for instance, some of the most prominent of the Rajput clans are held to have been derived from the aboriginal tribes Risley gives as an instance of what has no doubt frequently occurred, the case of a sub-tribe of the Mundas, who are of particular interest to Assam and the Dooars It is a tribute to the spirit of this fine people that they have not all followed the "Nagbangshi Mundas" and become Hinduised. The Mundas, as is well known, occupy the greater portion of the Chota Nagpur plateau and the families of the ruling chiefs, having acquired wealth, no doubt looked to social advancement from their entrance into the Hindu polity. They were admitted as Chattris or Rajputs, and are known as "Nagbungshis," i.e., the race of the Nag or Cobra. The following story is told of their origin.*

Raja Janmejaya had declared war against the entire race of the serpents, one of whom, Pundarika Nag by name, managed to

* From S. C. Roy's "The Mundas and their Country."

escape, and having assumed a human form, travelled to Benares, and there succeeded in winning the hand of Parvati, the beautiful daughter of a Brahman Notwithstanding his otherwise human appearance Pundarika could not get rid of the serpent's forked tongue, which roused the curiosity of his spouse In order to divert her mind from this subject he took her on a pilgrimage to the holy temple of Jagannath at Puri On their way back they passed through Jharkhand, as Chota Nagpur, then in the occupation of the Mundas, was called Near the hill of Sutiambe, Parvati was seized with the pangs of child birth, and importuned her husband to divulge the secret of his forked tongue He disclosed to her his real identity, and disappeared in his proper form into a pool of water close by Immediately after the birth of her child, Parvati, in great remorse at the consequences of her curiosity, committed *sati* Later a Brahman passed that way, carrying an idol of Surya Devata, the Sun God, and stopped to drink at the pool, placing the idol on the brink When about to resume his journey, he found that the idol could not be moved On looking about him, he saw to his astonishment a huge cobra protecting with its expanded hood a "little naked child" The serpent revealed himself to the Brahman as Pundarika Nag, and narrated his strange history He prophesied that the child was destined to rule the country, and directed that he was to be named Phani Mukuta Rai, and that the country should be called Nagpur The child was carried to a neighbouring Manki, who adopted him, and Phani Mukuta Rai in due course fulfilled his destiny

Thus were the Mundas given the entrée into the Hindu system as a race under the special protection of a deity The Raj family rank as Rajputs and intermarry with families of chieftains in the Feudatory States of Chota Nagpur, Orissa and the Central Provinces who claim to be Rajputs on similar mythical grounds Hinduized Mundas frequently call themselves Nagbingshis, Nagbangshi Mundas, or Nagpur Chathris

We need not follow M Senart in his masterly analysis of the evolution of caste, except to note the results of his investigation into the calling of agriculture He shows how the different agricultural castes originated and how they acquired, to a great

extent, the same status, though their origin is so diverse The flocks and herds must have been in the possession of the Vaishas, and grounds of general probability, as well as the direct evidence adduced by M Senart, make it clear that they were the herdsmen and cultivators and the Sudras the labourers It is impossible, of course, that the Aryans could have been a community of priests, rulers and traders, because such a community would not have had means of subsistence Indeed, Max Muller derives the very name "*Arya*" from a root meaning *plough* (the same root as appears in the Latin *arare* to plough), and points out that in later Sanskrit it means *noble, of a good family* We must bear this in mind later when considering the domination of the idea of agriculture as the highest occupation The original Vaishyas have long since disappeared, the Brahmans themselves asserting that there are no Kshatriyas or Vaishyas left This is probably correct, but the modern "good cultivators" retain the status of the Vaishyas, as the Rajputs retain that of the Kshatriyas

We have indicated some of the theories connected with the fascinating subject of the theory of caste, and now pass to what may be called a "working definition," *viz*, that propounded by Sir Edward Gait in the Census Report of 1911

Sir Edward Gait attempts a concise definition of Caste in the following terms —"A caste may therefore be defined as an endogamous group or collection of such groups bearing a common name and having the same traditional occupation, who are so linked together by these and other ties, such as the tradition of a common origin and the possession of the same tutelary deity and the same social status, ceremonial observances and family priests, that they regard themselves and are regarded by others, as forming a single homogeneous community"

To put it briefly and for the moment ignoring the aspect of marriage, *caste connotes occupation, and occupation connotes caste* Indeed among the lower illiterate classes one can go further and assert that caste and occupation are synonymous Sir Edward Gait gives examples of the acquisition of a caste status by foreigners following the same occupation, particularly the instance of the

Jews of Kolaba who, following the trade of oil-pressing have been admitted to the Teli caste

What is of more importance to the Tea Industry, however, is the fact that change of occupation not infrequently involves loss of caste, especially when the new occupation is "lower," this term to be understood as meaning that such occupation is the rightful means of subsistence of a community carrying a lower social status locally There was an interesting example of this among the Mundas, which came under our personal observation some years ago The Mundas are an aboriginal tribe, till recently comparatively free of caste prejudices, but who have lately become so saturated with Hindu ideas that they have acquired a caste conscience Their occupation is agriculture, and among them live people of obscure origin, who are blacksmiths, weavers, carpenters, workers in bamboo or in brass who supply their domestic and agricultural requirements in these directions Christian Missionary effort has been amply rewarded among these people, but the caste consciousness persists even after the adoption of Christianity, much to the distress of the Missionaries For, despite the symbolic commensalism which is the outstanding feature of the Church services, Christian Mundas are beginning to refuse to eat with Christian Oraons in the same district, while mixed marriages remain an abhorrence Also in the few cases where marriages have been solemnized between members of the same *kili* or Gotra in order to prevent the parties "living in sin," outcasting of the families of both parties has followed and been persisted in. The Roman Catholic Mission at Khunti, in the heart of the Munda Country and the headquarters of the Munda Country Sub-division of the Ranchi District, established a Weaving School, fitted out with hand looms for weaving *saris* and *dhotis* of the type dear to the aboriginal heart Professional weavers had proved that it was possible to earn a matter of two rupees a day at the looms and Christian Mundas were invited to attend the school and ultimately establish the looms in their villages The experiment was an utter failure, the Mundas refusing to take up weaving, the occupation of the despised Panrs who live among them It is interesting to note, however, that an exception is now being made in favour

of carpentry, the trade reputed to have been followed by the Founder of Christianity

Another instance of the objection to a change of occupation is mentioned in one of the reports of the Assam Labour Board The Deputy Commissioner of the Hazaribagh District found that emigration to Tea Gardens during the famine year 1918-19 was greatest from those areas of his district where there was the greatest local demand for colliery labour People will migrate a hundred miles and work in a mine, but they will not take up this occupation where they are known, *i e*, in the vicinity of their own homes Mr Berthoud, then Deputy Commissioner, stated that he had met Santals walking along the Grand Trunk Road covered with coal dust and had questioned them as to where they had been They invariably stated they had been cutting paddy in Eastern Bengal, or helping with transplantation ! On nearing their homes, they bathed and washed their clothes and posed as good honest agriculturists !

Agriculture is the traditional occupation of the great majority of the Indian population, and is a very honourable calling Chamars, Kumhars and Dhobis, Dombs, Kamars and Turis willingly exchange their despised trades for the opportunity of acquiring land and attaining the status of landholder, while the dignified Mundas, Oraons and Santals, Gonds, Savaras and Porjas may turn to tea without fear of social ostracism, when the devil, in the form of a poor monsoon or of a rack-renting landlord drives them to emigrate This does not mean that they will not take up another occupation at some distance from their usual haunts if it is made worth their while The Bengal Coalfields are full of Oraons from Ranchi, Santals from Dumka, and even Hos from Singhbhum, the great industrial concerns of Singhbhum import Bilaspuris, and men from the United Provinces, while it is well known that local labour is practically unprocurable for earth work in Railway extensions

Agriculture is, in the estimation of the Indian, the highest occupation. The Tea Industry, therefore, stands in a particularly favourable position when competing for the recruitment of

Jews of Kolaba who, following the trade of oil-pressing have been admitted to the Teli caste

What is of more importance to the Tea Industry, however, is the fact that change of occupation not infrequently involves loss of caste, especially when the new occupation is "*lower*," this term to be understood as meaning that such occupation is the rightful means of subsistence of a community carrying a lower social status locally There was an interesting example of this among the Mundas, which came under our personal observation some years ago The Mundas are an aboriginal tribe, till recently comparatively free of caste prejudices, but who have lately become so saturated with Hindu ideas that they have acquired a caste conscience Their occupation is agriculture, and among them live people of obscure origin, who are blacksmiths, weavers, carpenters, workers in bamboo or in brass who supply their domestic and agricultural requirements in these directions Christian Missionary effort has been amply rewarded among these people, but the caste consciousness persists even after the adoption of Christianity, much to the distress of the Missionaries For, despite the symbolic commensalism which is the outstanding feature of the Church services, Christian Mundas are beginning to refuse to eat with Christian Oraons in the same district, while mixed marriages remain an abhorrence Also in the few cases where marriages have been solemnized between members of the same *kili* or Gotra in order to prevent the parties "living in sin," outcasting of the families of both parties has followed and been persisted in. The Roman Catholic Mission at Khunti, in the heart of the Munda Country and the headquarters of the Munda Country Sub-division of the Ranchi District, established a Weaving School, fitted out with hand looms for weaving *saris* and *dhotis* of the type dear to the aboriginal heart Professional weavers had proved that it was possible to earn a matter of two rupees a day at the looms and Christian Mundas were invited to attend the school and ultimately establish the looms in their villages The experiment was an utter failure, the Mundas refusing to take up weaving, the occupation of the despised Panrs who live among them. It is interesting to note, however, that an exception is now being made in favour

of carpentry, the trade reputed to have been followed by the Founder of Christianity

Another instance of the objection to a change of occupation is mentioned in one of the reports of the Assam Labour Board The Deputy Commissioner of the Hazaribagh District found that emigration to Tea Gardens during the famine year 1918-19 was greatest from those areas of his district where there was the greatest local demand for colliery labour People will migrate a hundred miles and work in a mine, but they will not take up this occupation where they are known, *i e*, in the vicinity of their own homes Mr Berthoud, then Deputy Commissioner, stated that he had met Santals walking along the Grand Trunk Road covered with coal dust and had questioned them as to where they had been They invariably stated they had been cutting paddy in Eastern Bengal, or helping with transplantation! On nearing their homes, they bathed and washed their clothes and posed as good honest agriculturists!

Agriculture is the traditional occupation of the great majority of the Indian population, and is a very honourable calling Chamars, Kumhars and Dhobis, Dombs, Kamars and Turis willingly exchange their despised trades for the opportunity of acquiring land and attaining the status of landholder, while the dignified Mundas, Oraons and Santals, Gonds, Savaras and Porjas may turn to tea without fear of social ostracism, when the devil, in the form of a poor monsoon or of a rack-renting landlord drives them to emigrate This does not mean that they will not take up another occupation at some distance from their usual haunts if it is made worth their while The Bengal Coalfields are full of Oraons from Ranchi, Santals from Dumka, and even Hos from Singhbhum, the great industrial concerns of Singhbhum import Bilaspuris, and men from the United Provinces, while it is well known that local labour is practically unprocurable for earth work in Railway extensions

Agriculture is, in the estimation of the Indian, the highest occupation The Tea Industry, therefore, stands in a particularly favourable position when competing for the recruitment of

labour—work on a Tea Garden being mainly agricultural Provided that the *real* wages offered compare not unfavourably with those obtainable in other industries by a *family*, tea has not much to fear from other competition, but if there is an appreciable difference in the opportunities for earning money, labour is not altogether averse from change of occupation for solid gain, so long as relatives and friends know nothing about this change

As has been indicated already, the fact that land is available in many parts of Assam for private cultivation on the Estate for which labour is required, or in its immediate neighbourhood, is an unquestionable attraction, as at least eight per cent of the labour force drifts away to independence each year Land may be obtained on easy terms direct from Government, and some irritation is caused by the facilities held out to new settlers by the Administration There can, however, be no doubt that the prospect of acquiring the improved status of "raiyat," *i e*, a tenant holding under Government is a large factor in the emigration of the more desirable classes of labour, *viz*, individuals who are agriculturists by tradition, but who have been squeezed out of economic existence by pressure on the soil in the native district Very large numbers of those who leave Tea Estates to take up Government land borrow money from Kayahs to stock and develop their holdings, the money lender receiving a mortgage on the property These mortgages tend to be called in when the holding becomes valuable, and the settler has to begin all over again Ex—Tea Garden coolies are invariably to be found on the fringe of cultivation in Assam Districts, ever bringing under cultivation new areas, and as constantly being dispossessed and starting again on virgin soil Legislation is undoubtedly required stipulating for the possession of a certain amount of capital before a holding may be taken up and prohibiting mortgages of such property for the first ten years of the lease This would have the effect of encouraging labour to remain on Tea Estates for longer periods in order to save the requisite capital, and would stimulate better and more work Employers of labour are beginning to form Co-operative Societies on their Estates and encouraging the formation of Co-operative Banks one of the functions of such institutions might be to stimulate land settlement on economic lines, loans being granted

equivalent to sums in deposit on account of an individual wishing to take up an independent holding

The necessity for proceeding far afield to recruit labour, and the resulting competition of industry with industry, and between individual concerns makes such recruitment exceedingly expensive The only solution to labour difficulties is to obtain a settled labour force. So far as Tea in Assam goes, the penal contract is not in favour, and the significance of the fact that the personality of the employer, his ability to attract new labour through contented sirdars, and his power to keep all newcomers on his Estate, is again forced on our notice Large Industrial Concerns have recently been appointing specially selected "Labour Welfare Superintendents" to assist in this direction, on a Tea Estate, this luxury cannot be afforded, and the Manager himself must assume the rôle of Pooh Bah, although without exercising that Celestial official's power of summary execution for minor offences! Armed with tact, however, and a knowledge of the susceptibilities of his subjects, much may be done, for the Indian labourer is the most easily disciplined person in the world No Indian Wat Tyler figures in the pages of History, nor has there appeared in India a body of Spartacists, despite the efforts of non-co-operators

---

unless they had been believed to have life Life itself was considered to be distributed equally over the whole body or object When any part of the body was severed from the whole, the separate fraction was not considered as merely lifeless matter, but as still a part of the body to which it had belonged and retaining a share of its life The worship of relics, such as the bones and hair of saints, is an echo of these fantasies

Qualities were first conceived of by being observed in animals or natural objects Our language is full of examples of this phase, owlish, foxy, leonine, mulish, dogged and so on Primitive language consisted of the names of concrete things, abstract ideas were very late in appearing Conversely, all ideas were concrete, the glance of the eye, even the spoken word obsessed the mind as concrete, and a legacy has been left us in the form of superstitions relating to the evil eye, and verbal charms such as " Open Sesame " and " Abracadabra " ! In many races the name of the king is strictly *taboo* owing to the belief that he might be injured, were his name taken in vain The name of the tutelary deity of Rome was carefully concealed, and Valerius Soranus is said to have paid the penalty of death for divulging it The refusal of Indian women to name their husbands is another case in point The apparently abstract idea of " spirit " was first conceived of probably when the explanation of dreams was attempted, it was thought the spirit left the sleeping body and travelled afar, really experiencing what the sleeper dreamed, and once the idea of " spirit " took hold, primitive man attributed spirits to all natural objects

One of the most curious facts of child life is the confusion between similarity and identity Any imitation or toy model is just as good as the animal imitated Even to call a thing by the name of any object is sufficient with children to establish its identity with the object, and a large part of their games is based on such pretensions So, primitive man had no idea of an imitation or an image, nor of a lifeless object When an image of a god was made, it was at once the god, and contained part of his life In this way arose the curious and at one time world-wide belief that to injure your enemy you had but to make an image of him and injure the image Unpopular people are still burnt in effigy even in England !

The same idea explains the distaste of primitive people to being photographed.

With regard to natural phenomena primitive man adopted two principles — (1) like produces like, and (2) things which have once been in contact with each other often continue to act on each other at a distance after the physical contact has been severed. He inferred from the first principle that he could produce any effect he desired merely by imitating it, and from the second that whatever he did to a material object would affect equally the person with whom the material object was once in contact, whether it formed part of his body or not. Thus arose the cult of Sympathetic Magic in its two branches, Imitative or Homeopathic Magic, and Contagious Magic.*

Every individual dabbled in magic in a small way, just as most people nowadays can produce at short notice some drug or other to cure small ailments, but the specialist in the form of the Magician soon appeared. "Private Magic," or the magical rites and incantations practised for the benefit or injury of individuals, led by logical stages to "Public Magic," or sorcery practised for the benefit of the whole community. Wherever ceremonies of this sort are performed for the public weal, the magician ceases to be a private practitioner, and becomes to some extent a public functionary. Frazer argues that the public magician who practises his art for the good of the whole community enjoys great influence and may rise to be a chief or a king. The profession attracted the acuter minds of the community for their own advantage, and there was a tendency at this stage of social evolution for the supreme power to fall into the hands of the most unscrupulous. Not that the sorcerer was always a knave and imposter, he was often quite sincerely convinced that he really possessed those wonderful powers which the credulity of his fellows ascribed to him. "The elevation to power of magicians tends to substitute a monarchy for that primitive democracy or rather oligarchy of old men, which is characteristic of savage society, and the rise of monarchy seems to be an essential condition of the emergence of

* From the *Golden Bough*

mankind from savagery" * Sir James Frazer develops this interesting proposition, showing that intellectual progress is dependent on economic progress which is often furthered by conquest and empire The community was freed from the councils of a number of timid elders, and came under the sway of the best intellect "Even the whims and caprices of a tyrant may be of service in breaking the chain of custom which lies so heavy on the savage." *

"So far, therefore, as the public profession of magic has been one of the roads by which the ablest men have passed to supreme power, it has contributed to emancipate mankind from the thraldom of tradition and to elevate them into a larger, freer life, with a broader outlook on the world This is no small service rendered to humanity And when we remember that in another direction magic has paved the way for science, we are forced to admit that if the black art has done much evil, it has also been the source of much good, that if it is the child of error, it has yet been the mother of freedom and truth" *

Magic postulated the order and uniformity of nature the magician did not doubt that the same causes would always produce the same effects, that the proper ceremonies accompanied by the appropriate spells would inevitably be attended by the desired results unless thwarted and foiled by the more potent charms of another sorcerer The magician supplicated no higher power he sued the favour of no fickle and wayward being he abased himself before no awful deity, he could wield his power so long as he conformed to the rules of his art, to what may be called the laws of nature as conceived by him. His error lay not in his faith in his general assumption of a sequence of events determined by law, but in his total misconception of the nature of the particular laws which govern that sequence This magic has been called the "bastard sister of science", its "fundamental conception is identical with that of modern science; underlying the whole system is a faith, implicit, but real and firm, in the order and uniformity of nature."

We have still to consider how magic stands related to religion. Religion, according to Frazer, is the propitiation or conciliation of

* From the *Golden Bough*

powers superior to man which are believed to control and direct the course of nature and of human life. "Thus defined," he adds, "religion consists of two elements, a theoretical and a practical, namely, a belief in powers higher than man and an attempt to propitiate or please them." Man realised in time the essential inefficacy of magic, this great discovery being a confession of human weakness and ignorance.

"Cut adrift from his ancient moorings and left to toss on a troubled sea of doubt and uncertainty, his old happy confidence in himself and his powers rudely shaken, our primitive philosopher must have been sadly perplexed and agitated till he came to rest, as in a quiet haven after a tempestuous voyage, in a new system of faith and practice, which seemed to offer a solution of his harassing doubts and a substitute, however precarious, for that sovereignty over nature which he had reluctantly abdicated. If the great world went on its way without the help of him or his fellows it must surely be because there were other beings, like himself, but far stronger, who, unseen themselves, directed its course, and brought about all the varied series of events which he had hitherto believed to be dependant on his own magic. It was they, as he now believed, and not he himself, who made the stormy wind to blow, the lightening to flash, and the thunder to roll, who had laid the foundations of the solid earth and set bounds to the restless sea that it might not pass, who caused all the glorious lights to shine, who gave the fowls of the air their meat and the wild beasts of the desert their prey, who bade the fruitful lands to bring forth in abundance, the high hills to be clothed with forests, the bubbling springs to rise under the rocks in the valleys, and green pastures to grow by still waters, who breathed into man's nostrils and made him live, or turned him to destruction by famine and pestilence and war. To these mighty beings, whose handiwork he traced in all the gorgeous and varied pageantry of nature, man now addressed himself, humbly confessing his dependence on their invisible power, and beseeching them of their mercy to furnish him with all good things, to defend him from the perils and dangers by which our mortal life is compassed about on every hand, and finally to bring his immortal spirit, freed from the burden of the body, to some happier world, beyond the reach of pain and sorrow,

where he might rest with them and with the spirits of good men in joy and felicity for ever." *

Thus was probably made the great transition from magic to religion, and "man has created gods in his own image" ever since The degree of civilization attained by a people can accurately be gauged by a study of their pantheon the terrible god of vengeance evolves into the merciful god as the race attains the higher planes of idealism, while the more primitive races still pay tribute to a horde of malignant spirits "which day and night for their destruction wait"

The first gods were themselves magicians, able and willing to turn the course of nature for the benefit of their faithful worshippers, and this should be remembered especially when we are discussing the Hindu Pantheon Our next chapter will consist of sketches of "Animism" and "Hinduism," and traces of the influence of the cult of magic will readily be recognized as we proceed. As will presently appear, the dividing line between Animism and Hinduism, as understood and practised by the classes we have set ourselves to discuss, is extremely difficult to demarcate Animism is probably nearer the original cult of Magic, and is perhaps cruder even than Magic as practised by some of the African tribes of to-day

We have seen that the idea of a "spirit" appeared comparatively early in the mental history of Homo Sapiens, and was immediately extended to all animate nature With the breakdown of Magic as a school of thought, the spirit was deified, the spirit which every natural object possessed Thus is, briefly, Animism; Hinduism in its cruder forms has progressed beyond the idea that everything is possessed of a spirit endowed with more or less magical power and an extreme malevolence, and has evolved a pantheon of a somewhat "higher" type

* From the *Golden Bough*

CHAPTER IV

RELIGION

It is now proposed briefly to sketch the principal religions found in the areas from which labour is recruited One of the objects of this compilation is to enumerate and describe the principal festivals of the people we employ, and these are intimately bound up with their respective religions When discussing subsequently in detail the various castes and tribes, reference will be made to special festivals peculiar to individual communities Most castes, however, are Hindu by religion and broadly speaking, all aboriginals are animist, a general description of these two schools of thought may, therefore, be useful, as festivals and ceremonies common to all professing Hinduism or practising Animism can conveniently be considered Reference will be made to this section when, later on in the book, a caste or tribe with no distinctive festivals is under discussion

ANIMISM —

We have indicated in a previous section how it came about that primitive people imagined all nature to be inhabited by "spirits" and have now to consider in greater detail the religion of the majority of the tribes discussed in Part II We may, therefore, indulge in a brief recapitulation

Primitive man, on the analogy of what is found still surviving in backward races and as a result of a study of child psychology, is supposed to have regarded all nature as being alive and conscious, as soon as he realised that he himself was alive and conscious When he propounded to himself the idea of a "spirit" he attributed to all nature a similar spirit When Magic as a theory of the working of Nature broke down, "spirit" was deified, and the supernatural inhabitant of each natural object was regarded as a god People who hold these theories are termed "animists" and their religion "animism"

Generally speaking, the "*spirit in the woods*" is malevolent, among the Mundas and Uraons, with one exception, the deities are hostile to human beings, the one exception being the

Sun God who is regarded as above such pettiness The spirits of the departed are generally considered to be earth bound, inhabiting the houses in which they dwelt before disembodiment. These too appear to be worshipped and propitiated and we find the germs of ancestor worship in several communities Traces of the idea of the re-birth of the spirit is also noticeable, linked up with the notion of transmigration to higher or lower forms according to the deserts of the individual None of the Indian aboriginals, however, appears to have formulated the theory of " happy hunting fields " As might be expected from the general gloominess of their outlook, we find among these people no joyous pantheon such as the Greeks and Romans imagined, and as a consequence, religious observance consists of the performance of ceremonies to propitiate the various " godlings," these rites being linked very closely still to magical performances

Sickness and disease are regarded as being due to the operation of some minor deity or malevolent spirit—one can hardly use the word *deity* to describe each and every member of the pantheon This malevolent spirit *feeds* on the life of the person who is ill, and the steps generally taken to deal with the enemy are interesting as indicating the working of the primitive mind It is imagined that the spirit—*bonga* as the Mundas call it—is unable to fasten on to the life of a human being without the assistance of a human familiar (*najom*—Mundari) and the first step, therefore, is to discover the familiar Recourse is had to the soothsayer or witchfinder (*Sokha*) who discovers the *familiar* with the aid of grains of rice and the magic art He also ascertains what particular sacrifice the *bonga* is willing to accept in order to loose his hold on the sick person The *najom* or familiar is then approached by the relatives and friends of the patient and very politely requested to perform the necessary sacrifice of a black or white cock, a goat, or even a buffalo, the *najom*, of course, providing the victim The utmost pressure is brought to bear on the unfortunate person indicated as the familiar, and refusal to comply with the demand is dangerous For, with perfect logic, it is argued that if the *bonga* is not provided with the life of another living being by his familiar, the desired end may be attained by

removing the familiar, who is frequently murdered under exceedingly cruel circumstances. In Chota Nagpur there are at least a hundred such cases of witchcraft murder each year.

The *Meriah* sacrifices among the Gonds of the Madras Agency Tracts have only recently been suppressed and had a magico-religious significance "A life for a life" seems to have been the law of the Nature-spirits, and as the crops, good hunting, good fishing and all that the primitive soul longs for and needs, were regarded as endowed with life, the sacrifice of a life to ensure fertility and abundance of food seemed essential The more valuable the victim, the greater the merit, the more potent the power of the sacrifice Human sacrifice to-day is a last resort and is occasionally met with in Chota Nagpur and in Central India

Most of the minor deities wield power, however, only within the boundaries of the village where lies their habitat It would appear that the village itself and all that appertains thereto is regarded as a living entity Members of the family of the original settler, the pioneer who first began to reclaim the village site, are regarded with special veneration, and among the Mundas only a member of that family may sacrifice to the village deities In Uraon villages in Chota Nagpur, we find Mundas acting as priests and even in the western districts of the Central Provinces a similar custom prevails—a family of the original inhabitants being maintained to carry on the worship of the indigenous deities Among the Mundas themselves only members of the family of the original settler may be buried within the confines of the village and the right is jealousy guarded It is used as a test of membership of the family Further information on this subject will be found in the article " Mundas " in Part II

When jungle is cleared for cultivation, a small grove is invariably left for the housing of the spirits, called by the Mundas and Uraons the *Surna* It is here the principal ceremonies of public worship are performed

A very common sight in travelling through the areas inhabited by primitive people is the collection of rubbish dumped on the road just outside the village boundary The rubbish is collected

from each house and placed where the local deities are powerless, rubbish being supposed, very properly, to be one of the media used by malevolent spirits for the spread of disease.

As is to be expected, there is considerable variety in the way the different peoples explain the existence of this world of ours We give a brief account of the Santal story of creation which is typical of all others :—

In the beginning Singh Bonga—the great sun-god, brooded over the waters which covered the face of nature and finally created two birds, male and female, which glided continuously over the waste of seas At last they complained to Singh Bonga that they could get no rest and he created a tree on which they perched In due course, and in compliance with their insistent demands, land appeared and grass and food grains As a result perhaps of proper nourishment, the lady bird laid an egg from which were hatched our first ancestors, Pilchu Haram and Pilchu Budhi, man and woman They were innocent, and perhaps as happy, as Adam and Eve in Eden, till Singh Bonga, *not* in the guise of a serpent, brewed rice beer for them, and while in a state of intoxication, the woman conceived and ultimately bore a son They liked rice beer and, in due course, twelve sons and twelve daughters were born. Despite the example of their own case, Pilchu Haram and Pilchu Budhi had already apparently acquired certain glimmerings of the principles of exogamy, for they did not instruct their off-spring in the use of rice beer The twelve young men drifted away to the chase, hunting and subsisting on the game which by this time peopled the forests and they wandered about together for some years

In order to see their quarry from a distance, it was the practice to climb a tall tree, and on a certain occasion one of our young men descended rapidly, from his perch, exclaiming that he had seen a wonderful sight The brothers all mounted trees and saw in the distance a row of huts and cultivated fields in a forest clearing. They had forgotten their parentage and sisters till this moment, and on presenting themselves at the settlement, were made very welcome The maidens, unable to follow and secure or slay animals for food had taken to the cultivation of rice

Pilchu Haram and Pilchu Budhi consulted Singh Bonga on the subject of rice beer, and on his advice, a great feast was arranged. Masses of rice and venison were prepared and many jars of beer Man and maid drifted together in the friendliness of intoxication and knowledge duly came to each pair, who, in the course of time, founded families which are now represented by the twelve principal septs or *Killis* The drinking of rice beer is exalted to the status of a ritual, and finds a place in every ceremony In the Provinces of Bengal and Behar and Orissa, aboriginals are permitted to brew rice beer without let or hindrance from the Exciseman, and it is interesting to note that a "Pussyfoot" resolution was recently turned down in the Behar and Orissa Legislative Assembly on the grounds of the sacrosanct character of rice beer among aboriginals

Festivals among Animists usually have some agricultural bearing and we enumerate below the principal public feasts —

(1) *Spring Festival* (Phagooa—Mundari) —Celebrated at the time of the Full Moon of the month (January—February) The harvest is in and grain and liquor are to be had in abundance The household and village deities are venerated and propitiated

(2) *The Summer Festival* (Sarhul—Mundari) —This festival symbolises the marriage of Mother Earth with the Sun God Frequently a ceremony of marriage between the village priest and his wife is publicly performed, and all weddings in the village are postponed until its completion New fruits, flowers or vegetables may not be gathered for a month previously, nor is any agricultural operation permitted At the festival itself the utmost license is allowed, which some writers think is a magical performance to ensure the fecundity of Mother Earth

(3) *Monsoon Festival* celebrated in Asarh (June) —Just before transplantation is commenced, with sacrifices of fowls and magical rites to ensure a plenteous rainfall and a full crop of rice.

(3) (a) The *Karam* festival has evidently been borrowed from the Hindus and takes place in Bhado (August —September) The object seems to be to ensure the fertility of the growing rice, branches of the Karam tree being planted in each field

(4) *The Harvest Festival* in Kartik (October—November) —Cattle are venerated, decorated and fed on boiled rice Fowls are sacrificed and much beer is drunk and the newly harvested rice is ceremonially eaten This festival is probably a thanksgiving service, with a " lively sense of favours to come "

At all these festivals dances are held and the dances are supposed to have a magical significance At the Spring festival among the Mundas and Uraons, for instance, the operations of sowing are *imitated* by the women dancers, at the Harvest festival, the gestures proper to reaping are given prominence, the girls punctuating their singing with " Hiss-Hiss," in imitation of the sigh of the laden corn yielding to the stroke of the sickle Mundas, Uraons, Savaras and Korkus, Gonds, Kharias and Bhumij dance at all seasons and though it may be that in origin the dance had some mystical meaning, all who have watched these delightful people at their gambols will agree that their dancing is now an expression of the sheer physical joy of living

It is hardly possible to generalise regarding festivals obligatory on individuals, as the ceremonies may vary widely, and will be described when particular tribes are under consideration It will suffice to mention here that at childbirth and at death certain rites must be performed There is usually a public acceptance by a father of the new born infant, and a purificatory ceremony when a member of the family deceases Traces of the *Couvade* are found in India as in Europe, the husband going to bed and behaving as though he himself were in the pangs of childbirth when his wife is in labour. Among some people this is now restricted to the prohibition of all work to the husband on the day his child is born This also has probably a magical significance, being intended to alleviate the pangs of the mother

when the "brushings" began again, stated that the spirit had now left him and had entered into his wife—an old woman then standing in the courtyard The crowd turned on her and beat her to death, a dreadful orgie ensuing

The old beliefs are being weakened under the ever advancing influence of Christianity and Hinduism and this idea of driving out the minor gods altogether marks a great mental advance Other gods of a less repulsive character will, no doubt, be substituted

HINDUISM.—

It is impossible in a compilation of this nature to give an adequate idea of the meaning of the term Hinduism with reference to religion, as it embraces no definite creed and the beliefs of recognised Hindus often differ more widely than those of Christians and Muhammedans

As has been shown in the preceding section, Hindu religious beliefs are not, in many respects, very far removed from the original Animistic cults of pre-Aryan days The Census Report of 1911 gives a very good idea of the elasticity of the term "Hinduism" as applied to religion in which it is stated that the term includes "A complex congeries of creeds and doctrines It shelters within its portals, monotheists, polytheists, and pantheists, worshippers of the great gods Siva and Vishnu or of their female counterparts, as well as worshippers of the divine mothers, of the spirits of trees, rocks and streams and of the tutelary village deities, persons who propitiate their deity by all manner of bloody sacrifices and persons who will not only not kill any living creature, but who must not even use the word 'cut", those whose ritual consists mainly of prayers and hymns and those who indulge in unspeakable orgies in the name of religion, and a host of more or less heterodox sectaries, many of whom deny the supremacy of the Brahmans, or at least have non-Brahmanical religious leaders"

The extensiveness of "Hinduism" was also commented upon by Mr McIver when reporting for the Madras Census of 1881 and

the variety of the religious beliefs covered by the cloak of Hinduism is clearly demonstrated where he says that " as a religious classification it lumps the purest surviving forms of Vedic belief with the demon worshippers of Tinnevelly and South Canara "

It will, therefore, be seen that Hinduism gives no sign whereby it would be possible to consider the term in relation to a definite creed. The Hindu word " dharma " is the nearest equivalent to " religion " but this term connotes conduct rather than religion Religion in this country does not play the important part in the classification of society that it does in the West Indians are judged more by their social status than by their religious denomination and the average person is far more interested in knowing whether or not he may associate with and take water from his neighbour than in his neighbour's religious views.

Prior to the Aryan invasion there were in existence a great number of small communities, each having a religion and tribal priests of their own who administered to their spiritual needs Their beliefs were, for the greater part, of the amorphous Animistic type similar to those held by various primitive races in other parts of the world The primitive Aryans were devout worshippers of the great forces of nature, but in the course of time the gradual intermixing with indigenous aborigines led to the adoption of many of the local deities now found in the Hindu pantheon

With the steady growth of social organisation and the evolution of the caste system, the differences in religious thought were gradually forced into the background and had to give place to the more important factors of caste and class distinction The agricultural castes in particular are and have always been extremely tolerant of their neighbours' religious beliefs, the fact of having many deities of their own, invoked fear of criticism of their neighbours' gods which were not perhaps in their own particular pantheon, as undoubtedly these unknown gods were vested with powers of the supernatural and if angered, their wrath might be visited upon the offenders indiscriminately

Religion has not played a very important part in the development of the caste and social system that has been handed down

from the past, and the only time when religious influence has made itself felt to any extent has been when some new cult has been expounded, having a very strong social backing or has been joined to some political agitation that has made itself felt in the community. A case in point is given in the Census Report of 1911 where Buddhists were strong enough to break away and repudiate the supremacy of the Brahmans, also when the converts to Jainism were powerful enough to deny the authority of the Vedas and thirdly, where Sikhism as preached by Guru Gobind who openly aimed at the establishment of a political ascendancy, repudiated many of the ordinary Hindu scruples

As already stated, Hinduism covers a multitude of indigenous beliefs but the only religions other than that generally recognised as "Hinduism" of sufficient importance to warrant special attention are Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism, Muhammadanism and the Animistic beliefs of the aboriginal tribes The last mentioned have already been considered and a brief outline of the others will follow. Many minor cults, such as the Satnamis and Panchpiriyas are in existence and are quite as diverse from the generally recognised Hindu doctrine as those cited above, but are comparatively unimportant and for this reason need not be considered as separate religions

Mention has already been made of the small advance made in theology since the time of the Aryans, and the origin of the present Hindu beliefs must be looked for in the distant past when the Aryans invaded Hindustan and settled on the banks of the Indus and Sarasvati The Rig Veda—an illuminating anthology of hymns composed about the year 1400 B C and handed down verbally by the early Aryan settlers until about the year 300 B C when it was written—affords a valuable religious history of these early people From this Veda has been gathered the fact that the gods of the Aryans were of the cheerful type, very different from the demons who tormented the aboriginal tribes they found in India These people seemed to have placed their faith in a spirit which controlled the whole of their world and was also responsible for the solar system In the course of time, they came to recognise the great forces of nature as separate deities and worshipped them as

their needs arose In this manner all the known forces of nature were ultimately found to require worship or propitiation to ensure preservation of life and property Major C H Buck, I A, of the Punjab Commission in his extremely interesting book on the "*Faiths, Fairs and Festivals of India*" has drawn a striking comparison between certain of the gods of the Indo-Aryans and the deities invoked by the Greeks and Romans He shows how Dyas, the "sky" or "Heavenly father" was the Zeus of Greece, the Jupiter of Rome and the old god Tiu of our Tuesday

It is impossible to trace in the space at our disposal, the various phases through which Hinduism has passed from the time of the composition of the Rig Veda to the present day and for the purposes of this work, it is not necessary

So far, Hinduism has been considered only as a term relating to religion, but when deciding whether or not a man is a Hindu, factors other than religion have to be taken into consideration Many efforts have been made to arrive at a clear definition of the term, but opinion is still so widely divergent that a generally accepted definition is hard to find

Sir Alfred Lyall has made the following attempt which certainly covers all the admitted theories on the point He says — "Hinduism is not exclusively a religious denomination, but denotes also a country and, to a certain extent, a race When a man tells me he is a Hindu, I know that he means all three things taken together religion, parentage and country Hinduism is a matter of birthright and inheritance—it means a civil community quite as much as religious association A man does not become a Hindu, but is born into Hinduism" Gait, commenting on this definition in the Census Report of 1911, stipulates that in view of the important part the caste system plays in Hindu life, social organisation should also be added to the three factors mentioned, for it is obvious that a man who is not a member of a recognised caste, cannot be a Hindu

Efforts have been made from time to time to determine the criteria by which a man may be considered to be a genuine Hindu in the popular acceptance of the term but opinion has been so

diverse, that it has been impossible to arrive at any definite conclusions. The view is held by certain authorities that Hinduism is exclusively a matter of religious belief and that social organisation is a thing apart As stated previously, Hinduism embraces no definite creed and the religious beliefs of recognised Hindus are often widely divergent Barth in his " Religions of India " says — " The sectarian or neo-Brahmanic religions which we embrace under the general designation of Hinduism, constitute a fluctuating mass of beliefs, opinions, usages, observances, religious and social ideas, in which we recognise a certain ground-principle and a very decided family likeness indeed, but from which it would be very difficult to educe any accurate definition At the present time, it is next to impossible to say exactly what Hinduism is, where it begins and where it ends Diversity is its very essence and its proper manifestation is " sect," sect in constant mobility and reduced to such a state of division that nothing similar to it was ever seen in any other religious system "

Others again, hold the theory that Hinduism is a matter of race and that the term is synonymous with " Arya," connoting the Indo-Iranic people All modern castes are alleged to have descended from the four traditional castes mentioned on page 6 and if this idea is maintained, all members of recognised castes must, accordingly, be Hindus irrespective of their religious beliefs. We have already seen, however, that the descendants of certain aboriginal tribes who now embrace Hinduism, have no claim whatever to " Aryan " origin As mentioned on page 10 a section of the Mundas—an aboriginal tribe of non-Aryan descent—have now become Hinduised and are recognised as such. Further arguments could be brought to disprove this theory in view of the contemptuous references made in Hindu law books and epics against " non-Aryan aborigines " but this attitude, as has been suggested, was probably adopted with a view to race preservation In the passage from the " Religions of India " cited above, the author has laid stress on the religious aspect of the case, but recognition of the " caste " theory has also been given in another place " In sectarian India at present, and since the appearance of foreign proselytising religions, caste is the express badge of Hinduism The man who is a member of a caste is a Hindu, he who is not, is not a

Hindu And caste is not merely the symbol of Hinduism, but, according to the testimony of all who have studied it on the spot, it is its stronghold It is this, much more than their creeds which attaches the masses to these vague religions and gives them such astonishing vitality "

Those theorists who propound the idea of race contend that all inhabitants of India other than Christians and Muhammedans are Hindus—the suggestion being that the term was applied by the early Muhammedan invaders to the people living to the east of the Indus When considering this point of view, it must, however, be remembered, that there were in existence, but far removed from the Indus, tribes of totally different origin and customs from those conquered by the Muhammedans and in fact, of whose existence, the invaders were totally unaware

From the foregoing, it will be seen that the term Hindu can be interpreted as denoting social organisation, race, religion or country, a man might be classified as a Hindu in the light of his eligibility from one or two points of view, yet be disqualified by reason of his inability to conform to the remaining requirements

At the moment we are chiefly concerned with the religious aspect of the case For all general purposes, a " Hindu " may be classified as such if he conforms to the following —

(*a*) Acknowledges the supremacy of the Brahmans

(*b*) Recognises the authority of the Vedas

(*c*) Is admitted to the interior of the Hindu Temples

(*d*) Worships the great Hindu Gods

(*e*) Reverences the cow and does not eat beef

(*f*) Will receive the " mantra " from a Brahman or other recognised " guru "

(*g*) Is susceptible to pollution by touch or within a certain distance of " defiled castes "

(*h*) Will be served by Brahmans as family priests

These were some of the tests of Hinduism which the Provincial Superintendents were asked to apply at the time of the Census of

1911. The results varied very considerably in different parts of the country and no satisfactory conclusions could be arrived at In the Central Provinces and Berar, a quarter of the people classified as Hindus deny the supremacy of the Brahmans and the authority of the Vedas and more than a half do not receive the " mantra " from a recognised " guru " Again, in Bengal and Orissa, Mr O'Malley reported that there are 59 castes including seven with a strength of a quarter of a million and upwards, who do not conform to some of the tests He also points out that whilst the " untouchables " are not admitted to the interior of the temples, they are recognised as part of the Hindu Polity and they are served also by Brahman priests From the reports received from Southern India it appeared that the supremacy of the Brahman is denied by the Lingayats—an important sectarian group—and also by certain artisan castes who themselves claim to be Brahmans

It has been shown in the previous section how the early Aryan settlers in this country appeared to have believed originally in one power or spirit which ruled supreme and controlled all things both in heaven and earth, but in the course of time, their ideas of God underwent a change and in the place of one divine being was substituted a number of deities representing separately the great forces of nature

Idol worship does not appear to have been in vogue until after the Aryans had intermixed and settled with the indigenous aborigines and it was only with the development of Hinduism that attempts were made to introduce idolatrous manifestations of the various gods

When one considers the heterogeneous nature of Hinduism as we know it at the present day, it is not surprising to learn that there are literally thousands of gods in the Hindu pantheon An attempt will be made to describe the more generally known and important deities, but in addition to these there are tribal gods of practically every caste in India quite apart from those mentioned in this book The principal tribal gods are mentioned in discussing particular castes in Part II.

The original monotheistic nature of the early Aryan people has been proved from the accounts given in the Rig-Veda—already

mentioned—and we are indebted to that work for the information now known regarding the Aryans' subsequent leaning towards polytheism

With the evolution of the Brahmanic version of religion which commenced comparatively soon after the settlement of the Aryans on the banks of the Indus, came the idea of the triple manifestation of God which gave birth to the Hindu Trinity as it is now known Frequent mention is made in the Veda of the triple form of fire and the gods Agni, Surya and Indra as a joint manifestation and it is quite possible to conclude that in the course of time, the names of these gods were changed to their present form of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva

Practically all that is now known of the origin of the Hindu Trinity has been handed down by the Brahmans and according to the Brahmanised version of the Epics, the "Supreme Being" assumed the form of "activity" as Brahma the Creator, of "goodness," as Vishnu the Preserver and of "darkness" as Siva the Destroyer In view of the general belief of Hindus that all death leads to life and all destruction to reproduction, Siva accordingly becomes the creator and is usually symbolised by "Linga," the male organ of generation

Brahma is not a popular god with the Hindus, their favourites being Vishnu and Siva The good qualities of Vishnu are demonstrated in his female counterpart or wife, Lakhshmi—sometimes known as Sri, whilst the destructive powers of Siva are indicated in his wife Kali, the terrible goddess of avenging powers

In common with most other religions of the world, Hindu mythology is not without its incarnations of the gods Vishnu is alleged to have had ten "avatars" or descents from heaven in the form of man or beast, which were as follows * —

(1) Matsya—Fish
(2) Kurma—Tortoise
(3) Varaha—Boar
(4) Nara Sinha—Man-lion.
(5) Vamana—Dwarf

* *Faith and Fairs*

(6) Parasu—Rama.

(7) Rama—of the Ramayana

(8) Krishna

(9) Gautama—Buddha

(10) Kalki—yet to appear

Not unlike the Christian account of the Flood, Hindu scripture contains the story of a deluge which was sent to destroy the inhabitants of the world with the exception of a chosen few The first three " avatars " relate to the flood episode According to the Hindus, Manu, the second forefather of mankind, was directed by God to construct a ship and to take aboard with him seven holy men and the seeds of all human life At the time of the flood, Vishnu is supposed to have assumed the form of a fish and to have towed the boat to a peak where it remained until the flood had subsided Vishnu in the shape of his second incarnation—the Tortoise—visited the submerged earth and recovered, together with many valuables from the bottom of the sea, the beautiful goddess, Lakshmi, whom he subsequently married

Vishnu's appearance as Varaha, the Boar, was in order to fight the demon Hiranyaksha who had thrown the earth into an abyss

On another occasion Vishnu visited the earth in his fourth form to destroy a demon king who was endeavouring to kill his own son

The account of Vishnu's fifth descent shows how he assumed the form of a dwarf and requested the king Bali who was endeavouring to usurp Indra's dominion, to give him as much of his territory as he could cover in three strides Bali granted the request and the dwarf assumed gigantic proportions and, covering the heaven and earth in two strides, crushed Bali in the third

The incarnation as Parasu-Rama was in order to destroy with an axe the Kshatriyas (the second legendary caste mentioned on page 6) as these people had been ill-treating the Brahmans Parasu-Rama is supposed to have dwelt at Goa, but the misdeeds of his mother caused him to leave that place and according to the

legend, he became very angry and flung a battle axe from the mountains southwards across the sea to Cape Comorin As the result, the sea dried up and the Malabar country was brought into existence.

Vishnu's appearance as Rama was his most celebrated descent and now forms an epic poem of the Hindus known as the Ramayana Major Buck's version of this descent (op cit) is very interesting " The story runs that King Dasaratha, reigning at Ayodhya, had two sons, Rama and Lakhmana, by his wife Kausalya, and one named Bharata, by his other wife Kaikeyi

While Rama is still a youth he enters into a competition to bend the miraculous bow of Siva the Destroyer, which is in the possession of Janaka, king of the neighbouring State of Mithela (North Behar and Tirhut), he proves successful and wins Sita, the king's most beautiful daughter, as his bride, for she is the prize

Now, in an absent moment, Dasaratha has promised to grant Kaikeyi any two boons which she may desire and the lady, being jealous of the favoured eldest son Rama, bethinks her of demanding his banishment for fourteen years to the forest of Dandaka and the installation of her son Bharata in his stead Dasaratha has to comply and directs Rama to leave The young prince accordingly sets out with his loving wife Sita and his brother Lakshmana, who insists on accompanying them

Some little time afterwards the sorrowing father dies of grief and Bharata, who declines to succeed to the throne, goes off in search of Rama, he finds him at Citrakuta on the bank of the river Pisuni and endeavours to pursuade him to return to his kingdom, even offering to continue the banishment in his place Rama, however, remaining firm, refuses to disobey the order of his deceased father and insists on completing the fourteen years At length Bharata goes back to Ayodhya and carries on the government in his brother's name, but he never passes an order without first saluting Rama's shoes, which he has taken with him

After this, Rama, Sita and Lakshmana wander about for ten years until one day they meet a sage, named Agastya, in the Vindya

Mountains and, acting on his advice, take up their residence at a place called Pancavati on the Godaveri This neighbourhood is infested with demons and with them is the female demon Surpanaka, sister of Ravan, the terrible many-headed demon king of Ceylon, unfortunately she falls in love with Rama and is much annoyed because he rejects her advances Out of spite she makes an attack upon Sita, but is seen by Lakshmana, who promptly cuts off her nose and ears Smarting with pain and indignation, Surpanaka rushes off to her brother, inspires him with a passion for Sita and incites him to carry her off This is done by means of a magic aerial car, called " Pushpaka " and the assistance of another demon Marica, who, in the shape of a deer, entices away Rama and Lakshmana while Ravana in their absence abducts the lovely Sita

He takes her to Ceylon in his car and there, by means of bribes and threats, attempts to induce her to become his queen, but without avail At length she is handed over to female demons for starvation and torture, but is sustained throughout this ordeal with nourishment sent by the gods

Meanwhile, Rama and his brother are making great preparations for her rescue They first fight and defeat a headless demon named Kabandha, and then make an alliance with Sugriva, king of the monkeys, who lends them his forces, under the command of the monkey-general Hanuman, for the attack on Ravana.

The difficulty of crossing over to Ceylon is overcome by the monkeys who fly through the air and bring rocks from every direction to form a bridge, even portions of the Himalayas are sent down by the gods and a passage is safely effected A battle royal now commences in which the gods all assemble to fight against a mighty array of demons At a certain stage Rama advances in a chariot specially lent him by Indra and engages in single combat with the powerful Ravana in his magic car, the two armies stay their fight and look on at the duel, which continues for several days Rama after cutting off dozens of heads from his opponent, discovers that others promptly grow in their place and that he is invulnerable in that quarter, nothing daunted, he obtains a thunderbolt

from Brahma and discharges this into the body of his enemy, with the result that the terrible demon monarch succumbs on the spot and victory is Rama's

The long suffering Sita is now recovered and brought back in state to her husband's camp, but he refuses to receive her because she has become contaminated in Ravana's custody The lady, however, convinces him of her chastity by walking unharmed through fire and, full of joy, Rama takes her to his heart.

They mount the aerial car, Pushpaka, and proceed to a spot near Prayag where they remain until the full period of banishment has expired Finally they proceed towards home, make a triumphant entry into Ayodhya, where, soon afterwards, Rama is crowned with great pomp and glory and thereafter rules his people with wisdom and justice " *

Vishnu's eighth appearance was in the form of Krishna the well beloved god of the Hindus Legend has it that a king of Mathura, Kansa by name, imprisoned one Vasudeva and his wife Devati because it had been prophesied that one of their sons would slay the king Six sons were killed at the command of the king and the seventh only escaped by a miracle The eighth, Krishna, managed to survive and he and his father escaped from prison and took refuge with a herdsman named Nanda Krishna was reared under the protection of Nanda and the boy's superhuman powers soon became evident He had a marked propensity for jokes and from the stories related, he was apparently very free with the milkmaids on the banks of the Jumna During his sojourn on earth he appears to have taken unto himself many thousands of wives, far more than the usual number allotted even to the gods! Krishna is very often symbolically portrayed as a young man with a black face standing on one foot, playing a flute

Vishnu's incarnation as Buddha purported to be in order to deceive demons and others into neglecting to worship the gods, whilst the tenth descent, which is yet to come, is expected at the end of the present Kali age, in the form of Kalki, mounted on a white horse in the heavens and carrying in his hand, an avenging sword to punish wrong-doers and to destroy the wicked.

* "Faiths, Fairs and Festivals."

As already stated, the "Trimurti" or Hindu Trinity consists of Brahma the "Creator," Vishnu the "Preserver" and Siva the "Destroyer," all three forms being the manifestation of Brahma and the Supreme Divine Presence.

HINDU PANTHEON.

BRAHMA, "The Creator" —This god, the first person of the "Trimurti"—"Hindu Trinity"—is, as already stated, by no means a popular god with the Hindus, their general favourites being Vishnu and Siva Very few temples are to be found dedicated specially to Brahma, but his image is sometimes found in the temples of other gods Brahma is usually symbolised in the form of a red or yellow person having four heads and four arms and hands It is alleged by some, that he originally had five heads but one was cut off by Siva as he refused to acknowledge his superiority, whilst others think that one head was lost as a punishment for attempting to seduce his daughter Saraswati, the goddess of wisdom, whom he eventually married In his hands are carried a spoon, a string of beads, a water vessel and a Veda

SARASWATI —Brahma's wife or counterpart of the Creator as signifying "Sakti" (female energy) Saraswati is sometimes symbolised as a woman of fair colour standing on a lotus, or astride a peacock with a lute in her hand She is the goddess of wisdom, learning, music and all the arts and has many attributes in common with Minerva

The fifth of Magh (January) is the great day for worshipping this goddess when offerings of flowers, fruit and dressed rice are freely made, and she is also propitiated in marriage ceremonies

VISHNU, "The Preserver"—The second person in the Trinity is a universal household god amongst the Hindus and is generally looked upon as a loving and peaceful god. His idol is usually of a dark blue colour having four arms One arm holds a club to punish the wicked, another a "conch" or shell to be sounded on joyous occasions, the third holds the "chakra" (discus) symbol of universal domination and the fourth arm carries a lotus indicative of Vishnu's creative powers.

Vishnu is more generally known as Jagannath, "Lord of the World" and the festival of that name is in his honour The famous car festival at Puri is part of the festival, a short account of which is given on page 64

- Vishnu is usually seen reclining on a throne of lotus leaves with Lakshmi his favourite wife in his arms, or riding a serpent or mounted on "Garuda"—a creature half eagle and half man

There are many idols of Vishnu mostly taken from the forms of his various incarnations mentioned on page 36 and in most cases a shell or discus is included

LAKSHMI —This goddess, sometimes known as "Sri," is the wife of Vishnu and in various guises accompanied her husband in many of his incarnations already mentioned She also had several incarnations of her own, the best known being in the form of Sita, the beautiful wife of Rama (see account of the Ramayana on page 38) She is the goddess of prosperity, beauty, health, happiness, etc , and demonstrates all the good qualities of Vishnu A great favourite among Hindus and frequently called "the eternal mother of the world," she is usually depicted as a beautiful woman of a golden colour seated on a lotus The owl is also shewn in some cases as the emblem of carriage for Lakshmi, the supposition being presumably that owls, living in barns and granaries are signs of good harvests

Lakshmi was born from a sea of milk churned by gods and demons in their endeavour to obtain ambrosia It was on this occasion that Vishnu in the incarnated form of the Tortoise (the Kurma Avatar) first saw Lakshmi as she emerged from the sea adorned with celestial jewels and forthwith made her his bride

ALAKSHMI —This goddess is alleged to be the elder sister of Lakshmi and is the emblem of adversity She also emerged from the sea of milk like her sister, but none would receive her and the gods and demons eventually found her an abode where strife and discord are rife, and where the ashes of the dead repose, or in any place that is considered as unclean and impure Images of Alakshmi are usually made in the form of a figure of black complexion,

dressed in black and ornamented with bangles and necklaces of iron, riding on an ass and carrying a broom stick in her hand As might be expected, the goddess is propitiated with the express object of being spared her visitations

SIVA, " The Destroyer "—The third god in the Hindu Triad is the god of generation and justice Siva is a very popular god amongst the Hindus and temples in his honour are to be found in every part of India, whilst practically in every village and busti can be seen " shivales " or small shrines dedicated to this god

Siva is usually represented as a man with red hair, riding on a bull which is symbolic of reproductive energy Both man and beast are of a white colour which is no doubt intended to represent the purity of justice The throat of Siva is painted blue and he is the possessor of five faces and anything from two to ten hands Each face has three eyes presumably to denote the three divisions of time, *i.e* , past, present and future

In one hand is carried a trident as an emblem of his combined attributes of creator, destroyer and regenerator The figure is usually bedecked with serpents as a mark of his immortality and a necklace of human skulls indicates the revolution of ages and the succession of generations of mankind

The reason for this contradictory but combined representation of Siva as the creator, destroyer and regenerator or preserver, can be understood when the Hindu belief in the transmigration of souls is remembered Destruction accordingly implies reproduction and regeneration, and Siva, as the reproductive power, is continually restoring the results of destruction

The creative power of Siva is invariably depicted by the Linga or phallus, typical of reproduction, and in this form, alone, or sometimes combined with the Yoni or symbol of Sakti or female energy, Siva is worshipped throughout the country The Linga is represented by a stone or lump of clay whilst the female counterpart is shewn by means of a circular disc of clay

Siva as the destroyer is often represented by one or many of the following gods —Isa or Isvara, Rudra, Hara, Sambhu, Mahadeva or Mahesha

successful encounter with a demon of similar name This demon is supposed to represent vice and the struggle mentioned symbolises the conflict between good and evil

Durga is usually represented by a woman possessing ten arms although according to the Puranas, she originally had a thousand arms As shewn by the present and more popular idols, she holds in one hand a sword with which she has cut off the head of a prostrate demon by the name of Mahesha This demon is alleged to have oppressed the gods to such an extent that at last they appealed to Durga to rid them of their enemy. As soon as the severed head touched the ground, it produced a warrior but before it grew to the dimensions of a man, it was pressed down again to earth by the goddess. The second hand holds a spear which is thrust into the demon and in the third is his hair. In the remaining arms are held a trident, discus, shield, club, an arrow and a serpent, all of which signify various characteristics of Durga. She also possesses three eyes which represent the past, present and future

Durga is shewn as a woman of golden colour, richly dressed, wearing a magnificent crown and jewels and an indispensable adjunct to the image is a number of twigs or branches of certain trees that are believed to possess medicinal properties Usually Durga is grouped with her sons, Samsha and Skanda and very often, Laksmi and Sarasvati are shewn as her companions.

GANESHA —The son of Durga and Siva is the god of wisdom and appears to have much in common with Janus of the Latins His image is usually in the form of a short fat man of red or yellow colour with a large belly and the head of an elephant Many are the versions to account for the extraordinary head and one of the most popular is that Siva decapitated him for disobeying his commands Siva was, however, petitioned to restore Ganesha to life which he did but in the place of a human skull, caused an elephant's head to grow The idol is usually shewn as possessing four arms which hold a shell, conical ball, the "ankas" or hook for guiding the elephant and a vessel containing cakes Ganesha is sometimes depicted as riding astride a rat—rodents being considered by the Hindus as emblems of prudence, sagacity and forethought The god was not considered a good equestrian and the story runs

that on one occasion, Ganesha fell from his steed in the presence of the Moon The Moon was unable to hide its mirth and Ganesha became very irate as a mark of his annoyance, he placed a curse upon the Moon and upon all who might gaze at it thereafter He was, however, subsequently persuaded to modify the curse to apply only to those people who gaze at the Moon on their birthdays

In addition to being a very popular god with the Hindus and the alleged remover of all obstacles, Ganesha is considered to be the deity that presides over all business transactions and is accordingly invoked before deciding any financial matter A print of Ganesha can often be seen over bazar shops and sometimes over the dwelling houses of " banias "

SKANDA —Sometimes known as Kartikeya, is the second son of Siva and is considered to be the General of the army of gods He is, therefore, the god of war and is considered by thieves as their patron saint He is usually shewn as mounted on a peacock with its tail spread, but his images vary very considerably In some cases he is shewn as possessing a single head and a pair of arms whilst in others, he has anything from two to six faces and an equal number of arms Whatever the image, he is always shewn as carrying one or more weapons of war

In Bengal in particular, Kartikeya is specially propitiated by women who have no male children in the hope that they may be blessed with male offspring

KAMA —Sometimes known as " Kandarp," the son of Maya, is the god of love and is analogous with Cupid in Western mythology He is symbolised as a handsome youth riding on a parrot by moonlight accompanied by a number of nymphs who carry his standard on which is depicted a fish on a red ground This standard or banner is often seen in wedding processions of Hindus of all social grades In common with Cupid, Kama has a bow made of flowers, the strings of which are made of bees, whilst his five arrows are sharpened with pungent blossoms

The legend relates how Kama, at a very early age inspired Brahma with a desire for his own daughter Saraswati, mention of

which has already been made, also, how Kama in a fit of playfulness, shot an arrow at Siva, who was so enraged that he glanced at the unfortunate Kama with his third eye and thereby annihilated him

HANUMAN —This deity is the monkey god mentioned in the account given of the Ramayana, which related how he was lent to Rama and his brother by the Gods to assist in the attack on Ravana, the Ceylon demon, who had abducted Sita, the beautiful wife of Rama Hanuman is found chiefly in the Central Provinces and Central India States and usually in company with Rama and Sita Longevity appears to be his special benediction and he is propitiated by the Hindus for this reason

YAMA —This god is the lord of Hell also the " Pitripati " or " Lord of the Ancestors " According to some writers he is also alleged to represent the king of death and in many ways, is not unlike the " Avenging Angel " of the Christian mythology

The images of Yama usually represent a man of green colour dressed in red garments with a crown on his head riding astride a buffalo. His eyes are inflamed and in his hand is seen a wooden club and a piece of rope with which to strangle sinners

The analogy with the " Avenging Angel " is also brought to light in that his appearance if seen by the wicked, strikes terror and the fear of judgment to their hearts, but if gazed upon by the righteous, assumes a divine and heavenly appearance

Yama is also looked upon as the " Sraddha-deva " or " Lord of Obsequies " An account of the *sraddha* ceremonies, an important obligation peculiar to the Hindus, is given later in this chapter and it is sufficient here to note that Yama is invariably invoked by the officiating priest at the time of oblations to the spirits of departed ancestors

The second day of the month of Kartik (approx October), is dedicated especially to the worship of Yama and on this occasion, his sister, the river goddess Jumna, also calls for worship.

A number of days in the Hindu calendar are named after this God and are known as the "Yama Danshtra" or Yama's teeth The last eight days of Aswin and the whole of Kartik (approx September and October in the Christian calendar) constitute this period during which time the jaws of death are presumed to be open and sickness is rife throughout the land Brahmans are very particular about their spiritual welfare during this period and much time is spent in preparing their souls for the emergency of death

SENDU BIR —This god is sometimes known as the "Whistling Spirit" and is a very sacred deity amongst the agricultural castes The general belief is that unless he is appeased, he will steal the produce of the land to give to his special worshippers and burn down the houses and maim the cattle of those who do not recognise him as their god He is supposed to assume the form of a shepherd and when his whistling is heard it is expedient to propitiate him with the sacrifice of a ram or a goat

NARSINGH —Sometimes known as "Anar Singh" is a god of some importance particularly amongst women, as he is believed to possess special powers whereby to overcome barrenness and for this reason is held in great reverence by the women of many castes in the belief that he is able to co-habit with female worshippers during their dreams

A cocoanut is often kept in the house as an emblem of Narsingh and weekly pujas are performed and incense burnt in his honour.

SITALA —The following account of this goddess is taken from the "*Faiths, Fairs and Festivals*"—"Sitala or Mata," goddess of small-pox, is the chief of a group of seven sisters, who cause pustulous diseases and have to be propitiated regularly by women and children, the names of the other six are Agwani, Basanti, Lamkaria, Mahai Mai, Masani and Polandi Small shrines are built for them in the villages and the seventh day of Jeth, called Sili-satan, or "Sitala's" seventh, is fixed for special worship If an infant dies of small-pox, the next born will be given some objectionable name, such as "Kurria" (he of the

dung hill) to frighten these goddesses away The day after the Holi festival is an auspicious occasion for ceremonies in honour of Sitala, she is placed upon a potter's donkey which is led in procession to the shrine, where grain is waved over the head of the child and thereafter given to the donkey and its master "

THE MYSTIC HAND —The sign of the " abhaya hasta " or protecting hand is very common amongst all classes of Hindus and is often seen smeared on the walls and doors of houses and temples in every busti It is sometimes known as the " varada hasta " or beneficent hand and is a protection for the inmates against ill-luck and the evil eye and their cattle against disease The sign is usually made by the inmate of a house who dips his hand in *kunkuma*—scarlet powder used by the Hindus on festive occasions—and makes an impression on the wall Every new house before it is occupied has to receive the protection of the Mystic Hand and the sign is made both on the inside and outside walls of the dwelling The walls of the room in which a female's maturity ceremony is performed is also covered with the sign

Whenever a new idol is installed in a temple, the sign of the " varada hasta " has to be made on the walls of the temple to secure the safety of the idol.

When considering the pantheon of the Hindus, it must not be forgotten that the majority of the large rivers in India are also looked upon and worshipped as Gods by the masses of the Hindu population, and special reverence is accorded the Ganges, Jumna, Nerbudda and Godavari Rivers

The Ganges is the counterpart of the goddess " Ganga " mentioned in Hindu mythology and according to the Saivas (the worshippers of Siva) the source of the Ganges was in the hair of Siva, the Vaishnavas (worshippers of Vishnu), however, dispute this assumption and allege that Ganga emanated from the foot of Krishna and merely fell on the head of Siva, who shook his head and the drops that fell, formed the lake of Bindu Sarovara Others again, say that the source of the Ganges was in the mouth of a cow and the gorge

from which it rises in the Himalayas is called " Gao-mukhi " (cow-mouthed)

The particularly holy spot of the Ganges is where it joins the Jumna near Allahabad and here the annual festival and fair of Magh Mela, one of the largest religious fairs in India, is staged An account of the Magh Mela is given on page 56

The goddess Ganga is usually depicted as a white woman with a crown on her head carrying a water lily and a water vessel, riding upon a " vahan " not unlike a crocodile or sometimes as a woman walking on the water with a lotus in each hand

PRITHVI —The world The word means " conspicuous," or goddess of the Earth The Earth or Prithvi is looked upon by the Hindus as a fine example of patience and forbearance as she suffers all sorts of indignities and tortures at the hand of the agriculturist and miner yet never shews resentment and is always prepared to return good for evil

Prithvi is also known as Bhu Devi, Bhuma Devi and Dharta Mata, and she is invariably invoked by agriculturalists before ploughing and sowing Offerings and sacrifices are made to her and whenever a cow is milked, the first stream is allowed to fall on the earth as an offering

THE COW —It has been shewn in the previous section that one of the tests applied to determine whether or not a man is a genuine Hindu, is to ascertain if he pays reverence to the cow

The cow has always been regarded by professing Hindus as the most sacred of all animals and for this reason, it is perhaps not out of place to classify this animal with the pantheon It is more than probable that the prime motive which caused the early settler in India to reverence the cow, was the general utility of the animal in domestic and agricultural life and an instinct for the preservation of the species on this account The bullock pulls the plough, threshes the corn by the treading-out process, draws water from the well and is a general beast of burden, whilst the cow supplies food and drink, fuel and plastering for the

walls and floors of the dwellings. The bull is also looked upon as an emblem of creation and is often to be found in the pictures of Siva.

A cow is one of the objects of veneration upon which a Hindu should gaze when arising in the morning and the woman of the household invariably sprinkles cow dung mixed with water on the floor of the house as a process of purification Cows also form suitable offerings at the time of weddings or deaths, particularly amongst the Brahman castes.

SNAKES:—These reptiles are held by many Hindus as sacred and a number of " singha " or snake-gods are in existence in whose honour shrines are built and propitiation offered to the spirits of the dead, who are supposed to enter the snakes and do much harm Offerings of milk are made at the shrines and prayers offered particularly at wedding ceremonies and on Sundays Amongst the minor deities of the Hindus are to be found the animals mentioned in the avatars of Vishnu, such as the boar, man-lion, fish and tortoise.

The festival of the Naga Panchami mentioned on page 67 is held with the object of propitiation of reptiles.

The following list, which is taken from "*Princep's Useful Tables*" published in 1834, shews the functions of the Infinite Creator of the Vedas —*

1 *Brahm* —

The Hindu Trinity or Trimurti	Brahma,	Vishnu,	Siva
Their consorts	Saraswati, Sakti or Maya,	Lakshmi, Padma or Sri,	Parvati, Bhawani or Durga
Their attributes	Creator,	Preserver,	Destroyer
Their attendant *Vahan* or vehicle	Hansa (goose),	Garuda (bird),	Nandi (bull)
Their symbols	Time, Air,	Water,	Fire.
Their stations	Meru,	The Sun,	Jupiter
Their common titles	Parames-wara,	Narayana,	Mahadeva
Figure under which worshipped	Mentally,	Saligram and 9 Avataras,	The *lingam* under his million epithets
Analogues in Western Mythology	Satwn,	Jupiter,	Jupiter.

* Faiths, Fairs and Festivals

2. Other members of the Hindu pantheon and their supposed analogues in Western mythology, according to Sir William James —

Saraswati	Minerva, patroness of learning
Ganesha	Janus, god of wisdom
Indra	Jupiter, god of firmament
Varuna	Neptune, god of water
Prithvi	Cybele, goddess of earth
Viswakarma	Vulcan, architect of gods
Kartikeya or Skanda	Mars, god of war
Kama	Cupid, god of love
Surya or Arka	Sol, the Sun Mithra, the same
Hanuman, son of Pavana	Pan, the monkey god
Rama	Bacchus, god of wine
Yama	Pluto or Minos.
Heracula	Hercules
Aswiculapa	Aesculapius (genii)
Vaitarini	River Styx
Durga	Juno
Nareda	Mercury, music
Krishna	Apollo.
Bhawani	Venus
Kali or Durga	Proserpine
Agni	Vulcan—fire
Swaha	Vesta (his wife).
Aswini—kumara	Castor and Pollux.
Aruna	Aurora
Atavi Devi	Diana
Kuvera	Plutus, god of riches
Ganga	River Ganges
Vayu	Aeolus
Sri	Ceres
Anna Purna	Anna Perenna.

HINDU FESTIVALS

Like many of the ancient festivals of the Western world, the Hindu festivals were originally fixed to take place at such a time as would synchronise with the position of certain planets at a certain time of the year Although the study of astronomy has been allowed to lapse to a very great extent amongst comparatively modern Hindus, in the ancient days of the Vedic age, this study was a very popular science and continued as such amongst the Brahmans for many generations A marked decline is noticeable about the year 1000 A D and from that time, Hindu astronomers have been increasingly rare Hindu festivals, therefore, have a direct reference to and are regulated in accordance with the luni-solar system and it is now proposed briefly to outline the various divisions of time adopted by the Hindus

According to the Hindu, there are four lengthy divisions of time known as " Yuga " or Ages The first is called the Krita or Satya Yuga This Age, known as the " Golden Age " extended for a period of 1,728,000 years The second is known as the " Treta Yuga " or " Silver Age " and lasted for 1,296,000 years The third, " Iwapana Yuga " covered a period of 864,000 years while the last, or, present " Age of Misery " is called the " Kali Yuga " and is supposed to last for 432,000 years calculating from the 8th February, 540 B C, *viz*, about the time of the birth of Buddha, and also of the founder of Jainism.

A lunar month consisting of 28 days begins either on the day of the full moon or the new moon, but the manner of calculation varies in different parts of the country Each fortnight of the month is known either as the bright or dark fortnight, *i e*, the fortnight ending with the full moon is bright and the fortnight ending with the new moon is called the dark fortnight

Lunar days are known as *Tithi* and solar days of the week are called *Vara* or *Var* and are named after certain planets

Each day of the week has a sacred significance Hindu " Sunday " *Aditya* means the " Great God " of the Sun Monday, specially dedicated to Siva by certain sects, is observed as a fast Saturday is Hanuman's day and is considered to be unlucky Thursday is the day set apart for the worship of ancestors

Similarly, the date for the commencement of the Calendar varies In Northern India, the Calendar commences with the month of Chait whereas in Bengal and other parts it begins with Vaisakh.

The more ancient division of time, however, provided for the opening of the year with Magh and the spring festivals and closed with the winter in the month of Poh

The Hindu year is divided into six seasons each consisting of two months as follows —Vasanta (Spring), Greeshma (Summer), Varsha (Rainy), Sarad (Sultry), Hemanta (Cold) and Sisira (Dewy).

A comparative table showing the various Calendars in use has been compiled and is given in the appendix

The following table shews the seasons, months and principal festivals and it is proposed to outline briefly the festivals, month by month —*

Seasons	Names of Months	English Equivalent	Principal Festivals
Sisira	Magh, Magha	Jan —Feb	Makar Sankranti, Basant Panchami, Pongal, Mahadeo Pilgrimage
	Phagan, Phalgun	Feb —Mar	Sheoratri, Holi
Vasanta	Chait, Chaitra Kait	March—April	Rama-navami, Durga Ashtami, Rati-kamela
	Baisakh, Vaisakha	April—May	Vaisakhi, Savitri-vrata
Greeshma	Jeth, Jait, Chet, Jyaishtha	May—June	Apsaras, Aranaya-shashti
	Asarh, Asad, Ashadha, Sarh	June—July	Vishnu's descent to Patal, Rath-yatra
Varsha	Sawan, Sravana	July—August	Amar Nath pilgrimage, Naga Panchami, Solono, Pracha Amavasya
	Bhadon, Bhadrapada	Aug —Sept	Anant Chandash, Janam Ashtami, Narali Paurnima, Ganesh Chaturthi
Sarad	Kuar, Asoj, Asvina	Sept —Oct	Pitra Paksha, Dussehra, Ram Lila Durga Puja
	Kartik, Kartika	Oct —Nov	Bali Pratipada, Dewali
Hementa	Aghan, Margasirsha, Agrahayana	Nov —Dec	Champa Shashti
	Poh, Pusa, Paush ..	Dec —Jan ...	

* Faiths, Fairs and Festivals.

THE MONTH OF MAGH —

The principal festival of this month is the Basant Panchami or Makar Sankranti *Basant* or *Vasant* means " Spring " whilst *Makara* is the equivalent of Capricorn and this festival marks the sun's entrance into Capricorn The word *Makara* indicates an aquatic animal of the shark variety which has a trunk like an elephant and is the emblem of Kama, the god of Love For this reason, Kama and his wife Rati together with Vishnu receive adoration on this occasion and the worshippers indulge in love making and merriment A special " Spring Song " or *Vasant Rag* is also sung

The chief day of the festival is the 5th of the bright half of Magh The observances are usually more of a private character than public and special offerings are made to the progenitors of the family in particular and mankind in general The ceremonies are performed within the house and the family priest conducts the celebrations Sesamum seeds, cakes, and all kinds of sweetmeats are made and offered to the household gods after which the family indulge in a feast The food is usually coloured with saffron and yellow clothes are worn to represent the appearance of Spring

On this occasion there is also held a great bathing festival and enormous crowds gather at Allahabad (United Provinces), at the junction of the Ganges and Jumna and at Saugor where the Ganges joins the Bay of Bengal The Saugor festival lasts for three days although the accompanying mela lasts for considerably longer. The first ceremony is the propitiation of the ocean by casting into it various offerings, such as cocoanuts, fruit and flowers

In former days, the offerings were of a less harmless nature and children were cast into the sea Such an act was committed in satisfaction of a vow taken by a childless woman that her first born would be offered to the Ganges as a sacrifice, in the hope that the offering would secure further progeny. This custom was, however, unsanctioned by anything in the Hindu ritual and Government's action in suppressing the practice was supported by the Brahmans

Bathing is the chief item at the festival and *shraddha* ceremonies are performed on the sea-shore by those whose parents have recently died After the bathing, the worshippers repair to a temple dedicated to Vishnu and either inscribe their names on the walls of the temple and offer a prayer to Vishnu, or suspend a piece of earth or a brick to an adjacent tree with some solicitation for health, affluence or offspring, with the promise that in the event of their prayer being answered a gift will be made to the divinity

PONGAL —A similar festival to that described above, takes place at this time of the year and is known as *Pongal* (a Tamil word meaning " boiling ") in Southern India The festival marks the commencement of the Tamil year and is a day for congratulatory visits. It is in honour of the birth of Mithras (the Sun) and the renewal of the Solar year New cooking pots are purchased and rice is boiled in milk The general greeting of the day is " has the milk boiled "? and the customary answer is " the boiling (pongal) is over." This festival is also marked by rejoicing because the unlucky month of Poh is over and it is considered that every day of the ensuing month is lucky

According to some writers, Pongal has a marked significance for the agricultural castes of Southern India and the festival is dedicated specially to the glorification of their calling. Beasts of labour are given a well earned rest and their horns are painted and decorated with garlands The cattle are then led about in procession and are virtually, if not actually, worshipped

For some time before the festival takes place, people are warned to be careful and make offerings to Siva every morning spaces are cleared in front of the houses by the women and lines made thereon with flowers, small balls of cowdung are prepared and placed over the flowers. On the last day of Poh, *i e*, the day previous to the Pongal festival, the flowers, etc , are collected and disposed of by the women who, marching in procession with much music and clapping of hands, deposit the relics on some waste ground

The following day marks the beginning of the festival and is known as *Bhogi Pongal* or " Indra's Pongal " The next day is *Surya Pongal* in honour of the Sun.

Married women after bathing with their clothes on, set about preparing rice which is offered to the image of Vighnesvara (the eldest son of Siva) and to the cows, the remainder being distributed amongst beggars Other ceremonies are performed for the ensuing seven days, but the principal day of the festival is the second

MAHADEO PILGRIMAGE —This pilgrimage usually takes place during the month of Magh to various shrines throughout the country Mahadeo or " Great God " is one of the names for Siva One of the principal shrines of Mahadeo is near Pachmari in the Mahadeo Hills of the Central Provinces Pilgrims usually encamp at the foot of the hills and wend their way upwards by several rugged tracks to the shrine which is situated in a cave that runs a considerable distance into the side of the hill At the end of the cave is a rock from which gushes forth water and at this point is the Linga, the symbol of the god represented by a conical shaped stone Presents are made to the Brahmans in exchange for small bottles filled with the sacred water from the rock which are carried away by the pilgrims to their homes

THE MONTH OF PHALGUN —

SHEORATRI, SIVA-RATRI or *MAHASIVA RATRI* is an important ceremony held during this month *Siva Ratri* or the " Night of Siva," is a fast observed on the 14th day of the dark fortnight of Phalgun and the relative ceremonies are generally held at night According to the Saivas, or particular worshippers of Siva, this fast is the most sacred of all their observances as it has the effect of expiating all sin and secures the attainment of all hopes and desires of this life in addition to emancipation after death and ultimate union with Siva The ceremony is alleged to have been ordained by Siva himself who declared that the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight of Phalgun, if observed as a fast in his honour, would vitiate the consequences of sin and confer ultimate liberation

According to the account given by Major Buck, " this fast is said to have been first observed by a powerful King named Chitra Bhanu of the Ikshvaku dynasty, who ruled over the whole of

Jambu-Dwipa, another ancient name for India On this day, a celebrated deformed sage, Ashta Bakra, came to his court with some pupils, and finding him fasting, asked the reason The King said that in his previous birth he had been a hunter and one day, when out searching for game, he shot a deer, but was overtaken by darkness and climbed into a *bel* tree for safety While there, he wept bitterly because his wife and children were without food and his tears fell, together with *bel* leaves on to a *linga* at the foot of the tree. Siva imagined that these were offerings made to him On the following morning, the hunter returned, sold the deer and bought food for his family Just as they were commencing their meal a stranger arrived and he was first fed according to custom The hunter lived for many years without realising that he had by chance fasted on the day of Siva-Ratri, but when the hour of death drew near, two messengers from Siva appeared to conduct his soul to paradise, and he then learnt that he was being rewarded for having observed the fast on that auspicious day and night His soul remained in various heavens until it reached the highest and he was afterwards reborn in high rank as a King and was specially favoured by being given the knowledge of his former life " *

Strict Hindus observe the whole day as a fast and at night worship the God by sprinkling water and *bel* leaves over the symbol of the God The night is usually divided into four watches of three hours each, and the Linga is propitiated with different articles in each watch In the first it is bathed with milk and incense, flowers, fruit and rice are offered to the chanting of *mantras* in the subsequent watches, the Linga is bathed with curds, ghi and honey respectively

After bathing in the morning following the vigil, the worshipper recites short prayers and promises to observe the worship Brahmans are then fed in honour of the stranger before the worshipper breaks his fast

The worship of Siva on this occasion is permitted to all castes and the performances of the rite are particularly efficacious if conducted in places such as Benares which is specially dedicated to Siva

* Faiths, Fairs and Festivals.

HOLI —This popular festival is celebrated during Phalgun and lasts from ten to fifteen days terminating on the full moon day of the month

The name is a corrupted form of the Sanskrit word *Holaka* meaning " half ripe corn " and in origin, doubtless had much in common with the Spring Festivals, which have been held since time immemorial in every country of the world to celebrate the return of Spring when ceremonies are performed in honour of the crops and as a supplication to the gods for a bounteous harvest In some parts of India, relics of the original ceremonies, such as the eating of half ripe wheat and barley, are to be found, although, generally speaking, the festival has developed on very different lines and now constitutes the Saturnalia of India

According to the Puranas, Holi is observed as a festival to mark a feat of heroism performed by Krishna when he destroyed a she-demon variously known as Holi, Hori, Holaka, Meaha, etc , but the more general belief is that the festival was intended to celebrate the return of Spring and allow for an expression of feelings consequent upon the revival of nature

According to the popular legend, Holaka was a terrible female demon who devoured children supplied by the families of the village in turn A general appeal was made by the villagers to a demon king, who, in answer to their supplication directed that Holaka was to restrict her appetite to one child per diem, and that the child to be offered should be drawn by lot amongst the parents On one occasion, the only grandson of an old woman was selected in this manner for sacrifice and she was bemoaning her grandson's fate when a *sadhu* or holy mendicant happened to pass her door, hearing the cause of her sorrow, he predicted that the boy could be saved if Holaka, when she presented herself for her prey, were met with sufficiently strong abuse Further, were the expressions sufficiently vile and obscene, the demon would be struck dead The old woman spread the news abroad and the next morning the whole village was marshalled and the torrent of abuse rained at the woman, caused Holaka as the *sadhu* had foretold, to drop down and die.

The Holi festival is supposed to be in commemoration of this event and accounts for the free license in speech, drunkenness, evil singing and dances that now marks the occasion The first two days of the festival are usually confined to preparation and until the eighth day, the rejoicing merely consist of family feasts and merry meetings On the eighth day, images of Krishna are set up and worshipped and sprinkled with red powder this is the day when red powder and mud are first scattered so profusely and the celebrations take the form of licentious joy and general debauchery As Phalgun advances, these Bacchanalian revels continue and bonfires are lighted nightly until the fifteenth day.

THE MONTH OF CHAIT —

RAMA-NAVAMI —This festival marks the anniversary of Rama's birthday Rama was born on the 9th of the light half of the month of Chait and the day is observed in some quarters as a strict fast

On this occasion the temples of Rama are illuminated and the image of the god is adorned At night the Ramayana is read in the temple and *nautches* are held in his honour In some temples an invocation is recited every four hours, the life of Rama, his birth and doings are meditated upon. At Puri, Jagannath, who is considered to be an incarnation of Rama is dressed as such and worshipped on this occasion

RALI MELA —The following account taken from the "*Faiths, Fairs, and Festivals*" gives an idea of this festival — "*The Rali-ka-Mela*" is a festival or rather series of festivals which take place throughout the month of Chait in the Kangra district It is celebrated by young girls in memory of a maiden named *Rali*

The legend is that a Brahman gave his grown up daughter Rali, in marriage to a child named Shankar When she discovered her fate, she stopped the bearers of her *dooly* by the side of a river and announced to her brother Bastu that she would live no more, she directed that, in future, girls should make clay images of herself and her husband, perform the marriage ceremony and then

convey them to the river in a *dooly* and drown them there Having spoken thus, she threw herself into the stream and was drowned, her example being followed by Shankar and Bastu in their grief During the month of Chait, little girls take baskets of grass and flowers to certain spots for a period of about ten days and, when a large heap has been collected, they cut a couple of large forked sticks, fix them—prongs downward—over the heaps and on their pointed ends attach two clay images, one of Siva and the other of Parvati All the ceremonies of a marriage are celebrated—the fetching of a bride with the *barat* (marriage procession), the actual marriage rites and even the wedding feast at the conclusion

Finally, on the first of Baisakh when the sad event is said to have occurred, the images are carried to the nearest stream and immersed amid much weeping and wailing Girls who join in this festival, expect to secure good husbands thereby Considerable excitement is caused sometimes by small boys who dive and fish out the images in order to tease the girls "

DURGA ASHTAMI —This festival which is chiefly confined to Rajputana is held on the 8th of Chait in honour of Gouri (Parvati or Durga) the wife of Siva as the anniversary of her birthday In most parts of India this festival is combined with the Durga Pujah held in the month of Asvin, an account of which is given on page 73

THE MONTH OF BAISAKH —

BAISAKHI or *VAISAKHI*—Is the Hindu "New Year's Day" and falls on the date when the Sun enters the Zodiac sign of Aries This occurs either towards the end of Chait or early Baisakh The festival usually takes the form of a bathing ceremony in one of the sacred rivers Bathing in the Ganges is considered to be specially propitious Gifts are made to Brahmans for the benefit of *pitri* (deceased ancestors) and in order to divert any evil that the coming year may bring, a bath is taken in water specially prepared at the exact moment when the Sun enters Aries.

No special god is worshipped on this day but pious Hindus visit the temples of their favourite gods and in the evening the calendar for the new year is explained by a Brahman

The day is one of general gaiety but women are not permitted to join in the festivities in common with the men.

SAVITRI-VRATA *—Savitri is the ideal of a Hindu wife According to a popular legend, Savitri was the daughter of a king, Asvapati She was very beautiful and many were the princes who came to seek her in marriage, but none was successful in his suit She at last went abroad and there met the son of a blind king who, through the ruthlessness of a kinsman, was compelled to live in a forest alone with his wife and son Savitri signified her desire to marry the prince, but a councillor of the Court informed her that the prince had only a year to live and endeavoured to persuade her to make another choice In spite of entreaties by friends and relations, Savitri refused to consider any one else and stated that she had given her love to Satyavana the prince, and in time they were married The prince was unaware of his impending fate and as the year at the end of which he was doomed to die drew to a close, his wife passed the days in offering devout prayers to the Gods for the preservation of her husband's life On the fatal day Savitri accompanied her husband to a forest and whilst there, he complained of severe pains in the head and laid himself down in a death agony Savitri placed his head in her lap and appealed to the Almighty to spare her husband's life Towards night she saw the approach of a dim shape which she recognised to be Yama, the King of the Dead, who had come to take away Satyavana's soul Savitri rose and followed him and when asked why she did so, replied that a wife's place is with her husband no matter where he may be Yama was impressed by her devotion and offered her any gift except the life of her husband Still she followed and eventually Yama was betrayed into granting her last prayer to the effect that she might be the mother of many children This could only mean that her husband should be restored to life and in this way woman's cunning circumvented fate and she obtained her desire

* Taken from "Fairs and Festivals of the Hindus."

This festival is particularly popular with women and Savitri and Satyavana, as the saintly ideals of a wife and husband, are worshipped The name of Savitri is held in much esteem and the highest blessing that can now be accorded to a married woman is to wish her to be like Savitri.

THE MONTH OF JEYT —

APSARAS —On the 2nd of Jeyt, when the Sun is in the zenith, the birth of the sea-goddess Rambha, queen of the naiads, is commemorated Rambha, like Venus, was born from the foam of the waters

ARANYA SHASHTI —This festival falls on the sixth lunar day in the bright half of the month of Jeyt On this day, those women who desire offspring walk in the woods and gather and eat certain herbs Sasthidevi, the goddess of married women, is worshipped on this occasion as this goddess is considered to be the giver of children and is looked upon as guardian of the young

This festival is held chiefly in Bengal although among the Telengas and people of Orissa, a similar festival is held on the 5th day of Jeyt

It is interesting to note the analogy between this festival and the ceremony of the Druids who used to gather mistletoe on the 6th lunar day as a charm against sterility.

THE MONTH OF ASARH —

JAGANNATH —The *Ratha Yatra* (car procession), or procession of the Car of Jagannath or Vishnu (lord of the universe), occurs at Puri in Orissa on the 2nd and 11th of Asarh, Vishnu in the personification of the Sun is supposed to retire to rest for four months commencing from this time

The Jagannath festival is one of greatest in the Hindu year and the Car procession commemorates the journey of Krishna (an incarnation of Vishnu) from Gokula to Mathura

Puri is the chief centre on this occasion and of the 62 festivals held at that place during the year, Jagannath is the most import-

ant. The image of Vishnu is usually in the form of a huge block of wood with a hideous face and distended mouth, with arms of gold and the body decked in gorgeous raiment. This image, and the idols of Krishna, Balaram and Subhadra are removed from the temple of Jagannath at Puri and taken in great chariots along the Baradanda road Here the gods remain for the night and the next morning are placed in a shrine Here they remain for a week and are again placed on the Cars and taken back to the temples It is believed that all who obtain a sight of Jagannath during the *Ratha Yatra* are saved from the misery of re-births.

The following is an account of this festival which appeared in the "Times of India Illustrated Weekly" —"No fewer than sixty-two festivals are held at Puri during the year, the most important of which is the *Rath Jattra* or 'Car festival,' held about the end of June. Immediately preceding this is the *Snan Jattra,* when the god is said to have fever and is not visible for fifteen days, though, as a matter of fact, the images are being cleaned up for their public appearance during the forthcoming festival

During the Rath Jattra the three images are brought out of the temple by the Lion Gate and placed on huge cars specially built for the occasion These cars are enormous chariots of wood and bamboo, gaily bedecked with gaudy cloths and spangles, each running on sixteen solid wooden wheels The car of Jagannath is forty-five feet in height with wheels seven feet in diameter, while the other cars are only slightly less in dimensions

When the images have been placed in the cars, they are given golden hands and feet and dressed in rich raiment and the procession is then ready to start off on its journey down the Bara Dand or Big Road to Jagannath's Garden House When they first see the images, the pilgrims bow themselves down to the ground, then seize the cars and drag them along The Great Road is packed with crowds of enthusiastic pilgrims and the cars may take anything from six hours to three days to traverse its length of a mile and a half.

It was during this slow procession that fanatical pilgrims, being carried away by their religious fervour, were said to have thrown themselves before the chariots of the gods and by sacrificing their lives to have won a direct way to heaven It is more than doubtful, however, whether the majority of these sacrifices were not more accidental than real For with a crowd of some hundred thousand pilgrims, many of whom are women, all pressing forward to catch a sight of their deity, and struggling to obtain a share in the honour of drawing the car, it is not to be wondered at if a certain number are pushed beneath the massive wheels and killed But fortunately, in recent years, the authorities have taken such good precautions that these accidents now rarely happen

Arrived at the Garden, the images are carried into the temple, where they remain for seven days, at the end of which time, they again return to the Great Temple in their chariots But by this time most of the pilgrims have returned to their houses and far from being a triumphal procession, it is often a matter of some difficulty to obtain sufficient labour to drag the huge cars home again "

VISHNU'S DESCENT —Vishnu's descent *to Patal* or "Hades," which is celebrated during the month of Asarh, was made in order to protect Indra from the attacks of Raja Bali An account of this myth has already been given on page 37 so that further comment here is unnecessary

Vishnu did not return to the abode of the Gods until the month of Kartik, during his absence it was felt expedient to suspend all ceremonies, festivals and marriages, etc , and it is now deemed unlucky to hold any ceremonies such as marriage during this interval of four months (middle of July to the middle of November) This fact probably accounts for the large number of weddings that are enacted immediately prior to and soon after this period

THE MONTH OF SAWAN OR SRAVANA —

It is at this time of the year, namely, July-August, that the Sun in Northern India turns towards the south in the middle of the constellation Carcataca over which the Serpents preside,

The third day of Sawan is dedicated to the worship of Parvati (Kali), wife of Siva, and goddess of the Himalayas On this day she is supposed to have become reunited with Siva after long austerities Anyone invoking Siva and particularly his wife Parvati on this occasion has the firm belief that his prayer will be answered This day is also considered to be auspicious for the projection of any scheme or business proposition and innovations of all kinds are put into operation, if possible on or about this day

NAGA PANCHAMI (*Naga*—snake, *Panchami*—fifth lunar day) —The fifth lunar day after the full moon of Asarh is called Naga Panchami and the observance of the rites of this particular festival are continued on the same lunar days of every month up to Bhadon (August-September) The outstanding feature of the festival is the propitiation of Naga, the chief of the reptile race Oblations of grain, plantains, milk, rice, etc , are made and should live snakes not be obtainable, the offerings are poured into holes known to be inhabited by snakes If there is a temple specially dedicated to Naga in the district, people go there to worship on this occasion.

In Bengal, a hedge plant of sorts is planted on a mound of earth in the compound of the house on this day as a charm, in order to gain immunity from snake bites Anyone who has lost a near relative as the result of snake bite is especially enjoined to perform this ceremony, the idea of offerings of milk, etc , being to propitiate the reptiles As will be easily understood, this festival is observed to a greater or lesser extent throughout all the Provinces of India in accordance with the prevalence of snakes and the number of deaths occurring therefrom

In the United Provinces, figures of snakes, serpents and such like are painted on the walls of the houses and some days previous to the Naga Panchami, a mixture of wheat, grain or pulse and water is concocted and on the day of the festival, models of snakes, usually made of twisted grass are dipped into the mixture and the pictures of snakes painted on the wall are smeared therewith.

In Southern India a legend is related how a Brahman boy who was gathering flowers on this occasion was bitten by a cobra and

died as the result His sisters made the usual offerings and invoked Naga, to whom his soul had departed to relinquish the life of their brother. Naga was moved by their sincerity and devotion and restored the boy to life This day has accordingly a special significance for brothers and sisters and is known in some parts as their festival

Amongst some agricultural castes, it is forbidden to plough or disturb the earth in any way on the Naga Panchami and it will, therefore, be understood that a reluctance to hoe on this particular day by a member of the labour force may not necessarily be due entirely to laziness !

PETHURI —This festival is sometimes known as *Pracha Amawasya* and is held on the day of the full moon of Sawan The occasion is in memory of the 64 Yogini or female attendants of the goddess Durga and the chief observers are women, who have lost infant sons It also affords, however, an occasion for merriment on the part of the men, the day also constitutes a "Red letter" day for children as presents and sweetmeats are given by the parents and they are afforded even more license than usual in the pursuit of their childish occupations

SOLONO —This festival is held in honour of the grain, when Durvasa instructed Salone, the genius which rules the month of Sawan, to bind on Rakhis or bracelets as charms to avert evil The ceremony is held when the full moon falls on the Sravan constellation and is celebrated in particular by the twice born and Brahmans Brahmans and females are the only persons privileged to tie these charmed wrist-bands This occasion is also known as Raksha Bandhan (*Raksa*—protection, *Bandhan*—tying) when a thread of silk or tinsel is tied round the wrist of a friend by a woman as an amulet and preventitive against evil and misfortune The ceremony being specially observed by Brahmans, the tying of the thread has also come to be considered as a mark of respect

When the bracelet is bestowed on the public by a Brahman, the following text is recited —" With which was tied King Bali,

the lord of giants of great strength, with the same I tie you, be protected Do not go, do not go." *

Among the Rajputs, it is sometimes sent by a lady of high rank to a person of social position and power as a sign that she is desirous of securing his protection the recipient thus, *ipso facto,* assumes the rôle of brother and guardian

The following extract taken from Tod's "Annals of Rajasthan," Volume I, page 312, is enlightening —"Though the bracelet may be sent by maidens, it is only on occasions of urgent necessity or danger The Rajput dame bestows with the Rakhi the title of adopted brother and while its acceptance secures to her all the protection of a 'cavaliere serventi,' scandal its'elf never suggests any other tie to this devotion In shape or application, there is nothing similar in Europe and as defending the most delicate part of the structure of the fair, it is particularly appropriate as an emblem of devotion The Emperor Humayan was so pleased with the courteous delicacy in the customs of Rajasthan on receiving the bracelet of the princess Karnavati, which invested him with the title of her brother and protector to her infant, that he pledged himself to her service He proved himself a true Knight and abandoned his conquests in Bengal when called upon to redeem his pledge "

THE MONTH OF BHADON.—

JANAM ASHTAMI (*Janma*—birth, *Ashtami*—the eighth lunar day) —This festival marks the anniversary of the nativity of Krishna This event is said to have occurred at midnight of the eighth lunar day of Bhadon at Mathura As already mentioned in the avatars of Vishnu, Krishna was the eighth incarnation and for this reason, Janam Ashtami is considered to be one of the most important of the fasts observed by the Hindus and particularly by the Vaishnavas, or special worshippers of Vishnu, throughout India It is noteworthy that this occasion receives the special attention of the Saivas also, in addition to the followers of other sectarian creeds

* Major Buck, "Faiths, Fairs and Festivals" Page 95

On the 7th and 8th Bhadon, a strict fast is observed by all pious followers of Vishnu and food is not taken until the following morning During the day, the idols of Dwarki, Krishna's mother, Vasudeva, his father, Nanda and Yashoda, his step-parents and Baldeo, his brother, are taken from the temples and worshipped.

At midnight, Krishna himself is worshipped as it was at that hour he was born Brahmans officiate at certain rites that are observed which include the ceremonies usually performed at child birth and the " homa " rite, i e, the oblation of liquid butter to fire Clay images of Krishna are made, worshipped and swung in cradles and the following day when the fast is broken, is given up to enjoyment and is a gala day for herdsmen and *gowalas* amongst whom Krishna spent his young days

A short account of Krishna's birth and life has already been given on page 40

ANANT CHAUDASH (*Ananta*—The Eternal King of the Serpents, also a name of Vishnu, *Chaudash*—the fourteenth lunar day) —This *vrata* or festival takes place on the fourteenth of the light half of Bhadon and is a very common festival in all parts of India

An image or picture of Ananta is prepared to represent Vishnu seated on the coils of a serpent in the midst of a vast expanse of water, resting during the intervals of creation He is sheltered by the thousand hoods of the snake king which are spread around him like a canopy From the umbilicus of Vishnu springs a lotus upon which Brahma is seated absorbed in meditation as to the procedure to be adopted for the next creation whilst Lakshmi, the goddess of love and beauty, sits at Vishnu's feet

Fourteen kinds of fruits, cakes, sweetmeats, etc , are made and offered to the idol through the medium of the person officiating at the *vrata* He retains half the offerings for himself and the remainder is subsequently given to Brahmans As already stated, Anant Chaudash is a universal festival and is performed every year for fourteen years At the end of this period, the devotee is permitted to tie round his arm a thread or golden cord, called Anant, which is made of fourteen strands and has fourteen knots.

The cord affords security of eternal heavenly bliss and is held in great esteem, as the devotion necessary to obtain the Anant is such as to warrant immunity from all sorrows According to Mr Denison Ross, it is the popular belief in Bengal that with the advent of this festival comes the winter season, as the dew begins to fall at night at this time and snakes begin to seek places in which to hibernate during the winter months *

NARALI PAURNIMA —This festival is held chiefly by members of the fishing castes and those who live by the sea It takes place during the month of Bhadon when the monsoon storms have abated and the heavy seas subsided Cocoanuts are the special offerings on this occasion and great quantities, together with certain flowers, are thrown into the sea as a propitiation and oblation

GANESHA CHATURTHI —This puja occurs during the light half of Bhadrapada and is in honour of Ganesha, the Indian God of Wisdom In the outline of the Hindu pantheon, Ganesha has been shewn as a short fat man with the head of an elephant with a single tusk.

On the occasion of the Ganesha Chaturthi, gaudy and elaborate images of the god, riding on his steed, a rat, are made, consecrated, and after resting for some days in a building, are taken in procession to a river or tank and thrown into the water with adieus. Before the images are consigned to the water, special texts are recited by Brahmans which have the effect of releasing the divine spirit of the god from the idols

THE MONTH OF ASVIN OR ASOJ —

PITRA PAKSHA AND AMAVASYA —An *Amavasya* or *Darsa Tithi* is the last day of the dark fortnight of a lunar month and this day in particular is considered by Hindus to be specially set apart for the performance of ceremonies in honour of departed ancestors. The principal *Amavasya* day of the year is the 15th day of the moonless fortnight of Aswin Every day of the preceding fortnight is considered to be sacred when ceremonies in honour of the deceased are performed daily The customary *sraddh*

* "Feasts and Holidays of the Hindus" Page 4.

ceremonies, a short account of which follows, are performed on the corresponding day of the moon on which the relative died

On the authority of the Shastras, the spirits of the departed visit the earth during the two dark weeks of Asvin in order to receive the worship and respect of their descendants It is a general belief that the spirits of the ancestors are continually hovering over the family of the descendants, and prior to any family worship, special reverence is paid to these spirits It is interesting to note, however, that only those people who have lost their father pay this reverence to the dead, for the spirits cannot affect children through mortals It is, therefore, easy to understand why it was that in the past, the father of a family was almost deified and even now receives perhaps greater respect in India than in Western countries

SRADDH —The *Sraddh* is performed on one day of the fortnight and the *tarpana*, " offering of water " on each day of the fortnight, first to the deceased father and paternal ancestors, then to the mother and her ancestors The text repeated is —" The Father is heaven, the Father is religion, the Father is the highest form of penance, prayer and meditation it is by pleasing the Father that all the gods are propitiated "

There are strict rules regarding the rites, they should be performed by the eldest son, or, in his unavoidable absence, by the next son, in a quiet and clean place Compliance with the rules, therefore, necessitates marriage and the procreation of sons, otherwise there would be none to pray for and conciliate the spirits, which would consequently be uneasy and give trouble, but after two generations they fortunately pass into a state of rest During *sraddh* and sometimes for the whole fortnight, no shaving, cutting of the hair, or paring of the nails is permissible

The Phalgu river in Gaya is a stream particularly sacred to these spirits and worship performed there, helps them into paradise At certain times, a large *Phalgu* fair is held by a pond at Pharral in the neighbourhood of Kurukshetra. Articles are

thrown into the river and this pond as offerings to the spirits The name Phalgu seems to mean the " fructifying quality "*

DURGA PUJA —This puja is one of the most popular particularly in Bengal, where the holiday is enjoyed by an immense crowd. The origin, significance, and the sacrifice of this festival are admirably described by Mr Ross in his " Feasts and Holidays of the Hindus " and the following extract is given —" The Durga puja takes place on the seventh, eighth and ninth lunar days in the bright fortnight of the month of Asvna (September-October) Durga means ' she who dispels all difficulties ' or ' she who is attainable with difficulty ' She is the consort of Siva (the Good) and is regarded as the Primeval Energy of the Supreme Being She obtained the name of Durga because she slew an *asura* (demon) named Durga This monster is by some supposed to be a personification of vice and Durga of virtue, while the struggle between them typifies the action and re-action of good and evil in the world This is the greatest festival of the Hindus, at least in Bengal At this season, the members of a family whom business detains from home during the year, return, with the worship of Durga is associated all that is bright and cheerful It is customary at the time of the puja to offer presents to the son-in-law and other relations and the practice of wearing gay or new dress, especially on the sixth and the tenth days of the moon, is widely observed

Origin.—There are various sources which give the origin of this deity, but the generally accepted version is that the energy (Sakti) of all the devatas or deities was concentrated in her form for the destruction of the powerful Mahisasura For this reason Durga is regarded as the embodiment of the attributes of all the devatas combined, her worship, therefore, signifying the worship of all the gods In the Satya Yugu, Raja Suratha and Samadhi Vaisya built images of the goddess and invoked her for a period of three years Raja Suratha was deprived of his kingdom by his enemies, Samadhi was driven away from his own home by his kinsmen and yet both of them pined to go back to their kingdom and home, knowing full well the kind of reception that awaited them.

* Major Buck, " Faiths, Fairs and Festivals." Page 99

They providentially met in a forest and were advised to see Medharsi (sage) who explained to them the cause of all human sufferings and the way to overcome them and attain perfect beatitude

In the Treta Yuga, Ravana (the demon king who carried away the wife of Rama) used to invoke Durga in the spring in the month of Chaitra, hence her worship in that month came into vogue, and from this arose the name of Vasanti Puja, from *Vasanta,* the Spring Rama being foiled in many attempts to overcome the monster king of Ceylon, devoted fourteen days to the worship of the goddess Durga and having propitiated her, sallied forth on the 15th day and attained his object This invocation took place in Aswin (September-October) which is in the autumn "

" *The Puja* —Amongst the various rituals observed, the more important only are mentioned The Navapatrika is bathed and the *ghata* (or pitcher) is placed before the image, over which is placed a green cocoanut wrapped in the leaves of five trees, lights fed with ghee are kept burning and various other preliminary arrangements are made The first thing in a puja is the *samkalpa* (literally means resolve of the mind, will, purpose, definite intention, determination, desire, it is no ceremony in itself but is a prelude to every ceremony) or resolution, followed by the *avahana* (offerings) by which the goddess is solicited to come and appear Then comes the instilling of life into the image, which means that the goddess is solicited to appear in spirit within the image and thereby make it alive as it were After one or two other ceremonies comes the sacrifice in which a goat, a buffalo, a sheep, a pumpkin or a sugarcane is sacrificed Then comes the *homa* or oblation of liquified butter to fire "

" Every evening, *arati* (swinging of lights before the image) takes place in which the goddess is invoked with the waving of lights and ringing of bells and other ceremonies "

" Abstinence is practised on the day previous to the days of the actual puja, *viz* , on the sixth day of the waxing moon and on the puja days whole or partial fasting is observed, especially on

the second day of the puja or the Mahastami when widows particularly keep a rigid fast On the tenth day of the waxing moon, the image is consigned to the water after the performance of prescribed ceremonies."

The Significance of the Puja —In order to bring God within the comprehension of man, the Hindu sages of old conceived the idea of image worship as the first stage in spiritual life They have never ceased to inculcate, however, that the image by itself is not the object of worship, but God is worshipped in spirit *through* the image, which is nothing more than the *medium* upon which the mind is concentrated and through which men seek to bring the Infinite within the realisation of the devotee Image worship is enjoined so long as worship purely in spirit is not attained, but once the latter object is gained, the necessity for image worship vanishes Sir Oliver Lodge writes —" If we are to apprehend God at all, it must be through something anthropomorphic, it must be through some incarnation, through the saints and pinnacles of the race " * Image worship seems to be a step in extension of this idea Image worship and symbolic ritual were never regarded as indispensable to Hinduism, but rather as a kind of spiritual Kindergarten to help the masses to understand the abstract ideas of Hindu Philosophy These among others seem to be the ideas underlying image worship The image of the goddess, or in fact of any god or goddess, is not an arbitrary creation of man's fancy It is believed that the Formless Brahma does assume forms which are first reflected on the minds of wise men and seers The image of Durga represents in one aspect, the victory of man's soul (typified as Durga) over the animal passions, represented by the *asura* and the lion This victory has to be achieved with the help of knowledge or intelligence (Saraswati), prosperity or good luck (Lakshmi), actual fight or struggle (Kartika) and lastly through determination to succeed (Ganesha) "

The Sacrifice —The true meaning of performing a sacrifice seems to be this Man is a slave to his animal passions, there is no end to his desires The sacrificial sword is emblematic of true

* (*Reason and Belief*—page 125)

The nine days, beginning with the first day after the new moon of Asvina (September-October) to the ninth, are called Navarati (*lit* nine nights). During one or other of these day, Durga is worshipped in some way or other throughout India, but the *image* of Durga is not worshipped outside Bengal These days are sacred either to Durga, Lakshmi or Saravati throughout India "

This of course is a highly philosophical explanation, to those who have read the chapter on Animism and followed our sketch of the practices of primitive peoples, other explanations will present themselves

DUSSEHRA —In some parts of India, particularly in the North and West the last day of the Durga Puja is known as " Dussehra " (tenth day) and it is an occasion for a special festival in honour of Rama It commemorates the victory of this God over Ravana, the demon king of Ceylon, who abducted Sita, the wife of Rama The story of this legend has already been related under the " Ramayan " on page 38

Dussehra affords an opportunity for everybody to have a general " spring cleaning " and houses are newly whitewashed and plastered in honour of this festival

The wagtail or *khaujan* is a bird of omen at this time of the year and great importance is attached to the position and places where it is seen It bears a mark not unlike a *tilak* made by certain Hindu sects and it may be for this reason that special attention is accorded it If the wagtail is seen near a lotus flower or amongst elephants, horses, cows or snakes, it portends good luck and prosperity If, however, it is observed on refuse, ashes or rubbish of any sort, it forebodes evil and on this account it is necessary to propitiate the gods

In towns and large villages, Dussehra is celebrated by the performance of a play *Ram Lila* The setting is on a maidan or other convenient open space and an effigy of the demon Ravana is erected. This image is filled with fireworks and the chief events of the rescue of Sita by Rama as related in the Ramayana are acted An enclosure at some little distance represents Ceylon and boys are dressed up to impersonate the monkeys and Hanuman,

the monkey general and bodyguard to the hero, in addition to the principal characters of the story The plot follows the legend as far as possible and the final scene shows Rama advancing in his chariot towards Ravana At a convenient distance, Rama shoots an arrow at the demon king which has the effect of setting fire to the effigy—provided the matches are dry and that the "staff work" has been good! The fireworks are ignited and eventually the demon king falls in a heap of smouldering ashes amidst the cheers of the onlookers and actors This provides the signal for Rama to advance and rescue Sita, who is carried off in the chariot amidst renewed applause

The Dussehra marks the termination of the rainy season and the four months' absence of Vishnu from the abode of the gods From now onwards, social festivals of all kinds are renewed and continue through the wintry months

CHANDRA —The last day of Asoj, marks the commencement of winter and on this day, only white clothes and silver ornaments should be worn as a special tribute to *Chandra*, the Moon.

THE MONTH OF KARTICK —

BALI PRATAPADA —This festival in honour of the demon king Bali, is held on the first day of the light half of Kartick (October-November) The legend has already been told relating to this king and his efforts to usurp Indra from Vishnu

The day is specially set aside for bathing and also marks one of the occasions when dirt and rubbish from in and around the houses is willingly cleared away.

BHRATRI DWITYA —This festival falls on the second lunar day following the ides of Kartick and is an occasion when sisters are expected to give presents and entertainments to their brothers. It is in honour of the river goddess Yamuna (Jumna) and commemorates the occasion when she entertained her brother Yama The legend relates how Yamuna welcomed her brother who was lord of the lower regions and thereby secured for him immunity from death.

The festival is a general one throughout India and the ceremony consists of the annointment of the brother by the sister who paints his forehead with sandal-paste. There are minor differences in the actual observance of the festival in different parts of the country although the underlying motive, *viz*, to secure protection for a brother, is the same

DIWALI —Literally means a row of lights and is the great festival of illumination Diwali is generally observed on the day of the new moon of Kartick and the festivities are continued on the four days following Various ceremonies are performed on each day, but the great festival is held on the last night.

There are many versions of the origin of the feast It is alleged by some that it is held in commemoration of the marriage of Lakshmi, the goddess of fortune and prosperity, with the divine Vishnu It is noteworthy that on this occasion Lakshmi receives special worship and on the last night of the festival gambling and games of chance of all sorts are played in honour of this goddess Another version is that on the occasion of Diwali, the spirits of ancestors visit their former homes and for this reason it is necessary to have the place brilliantly lighted in honour of the occasion

Amongst Banias and Marwaris, Diwali marks the commencement of the new financial year and Lakshmi, the goddess of fortune, is accordingly worshipped.

The illuminations throughout the country on this festival afford a most fascinating and enchanting scene, especially where the lights are reflected in the waters of a tank or a river The outline of every building, temple and house is marked by rows of fairy lights and the effect is picturesque in the extreme

In towns or villages situated on the banks of a river, a further pleasing sight is afforded by the ceremony of placing little earthenware or pan-leaf lamps on the water The lamps are carefully lighted and allowed to glide down stream This ceremony is usually performed by young women and girls, who come silently to the stream just as twilight merges into night and the rising mist on the water casts a mystic spell over all, with eager

faces, the watchers mark the course of their tiny lighted craft and their joy, if the lamp floats serenely and unextinguished into the enveloping night, is as intense as their anguish should the breeze or chance ripple of the water obliterate their message to Eternity, as future happiness depends upon the delivery of their lighted message to the Gods

THE MONTHS OF AGHAN AND POH —

The close of Kartick sees the last of the important festivals of the Hindus for the year and the two remaining months Aghan and Poh are comparatively quiet

MITRA SAPTIMI —This day, the 7th Aghan, is held sacred to the Sun as a personification of Vishnu and it is believed that on this day, the Ganges descended from the feet of Vishnu and fell over the head of Siva The special worshippers of Vishnu, the Vaisnavas, usually visit the Ganges on Mitra Saptimi if possible and draw some of the water which is taken home and poured over the emblem of the God.

HINDU SECTS

Generally speaking, the Hindus as a whole are not religious sectarians Of those who have become isolated from the main body by reason of any particular defection or inability to conform to any clause in the Hindu creed, the great majority may be classified either as Saivas or Vaishnavas although this division is by no means absolute

Saivas are the followers of Siva, the third person in the Hindu Trinity and Vaishnavas are the special worshippers of Vishnu, the second god of the Triad

It is practically impossible to differentiate between the various sects of the Hindus owing to the many instances where the beliefs of one are overlapped by those of another This difficulty is demonstrated by the case quoted in the Census report of 1911 "There is for example, the Sakta Sect, which owes its origin to the Tantrik developments that infected both Buddhism and Hinduism, chiefly in North-East India about the seventh century of our era This cult is based on the worship of the active producing principle of nature as manifested in one or other of the goddess wives of Siva and is a religion of bloody sacrifices and magic texts The ritual is laid down in the mediæval scriptures known as the Tantras in one of which it is expressly stated that the Vedas have become obsolete. It would be incorrect to treat the followers of this cult as Saivas The same remark applies to the Smarta, Ganpatya and Saura Sects as well as to numerous minor sects such as the Panchpiraya and Kartbhaja, which it would be equally wrong to allocate to either of the above main heads"

Of the large number of professing Hindus of the present day, roughly 200 millions, only a very small majority belong definitely to special sects and in fact, of those who have deviated from the common faith, a very large number would be unable to explain in what manner they differ from the ordinary professing Hindu The ordinary Hindu and in particular, the agricultural types with which we are concerned, draw very little distinction between the respective creeds of the Saivas and Vaishnavas, and worship the gods and goddesses of both sects as occasion arises Both " schools

of thought " have support in all social grades and from amongst their followers could be numbered believers in the highest philsophic doctrines and others whose theories are very closely allied to the Animistic beliefs of the aborigines

Members of the various sects can usually be identified by the *tilak* marks printed on the forehead or on various parts of the body, also they invariably wear rosaries or necklaces of beads

VAISHNAVAS —As stated above, these sectarians are the worshippers of Vishnu and pay special reverence to the female counterpart of this God, Sri, or Lakshmi Their *tilak* consists of three upright lines called the *trisula* printed on the forehead and is emblematic of the gods of the Hindu Trinity The two outer lines are usually white or yellow and the central one is of a red colour

One of the oustanding characteristics of this sect is the particular attention which members pay to the preparation of food and strict Vaishnavas usually prepare their own meals From this sect have arisen various sub-sects or orders, which are too insignificant to call for special comment It is, however, of interest to note that many of the itinerant holy men or *sadhus* found in every part of India are ascetics of this sect and are easily distinguished by their garb of sackcloth and ashes or garments of a salmon tint, also by the various signs of Vishnu, such as the lotus, shell and discus painted on their bodies

SAIVAS —The worshippers of Siva, are sometimes known as Dandis and invariably carry a staff as an emblem of their particular god They, like the Vaishnavas, are particular over their food and, being Brahmans, will only receive food from Brahmans

Their *tilak* consists of three horizontal lines, usually painted with ashes across the forehead

The ascetics of this sect or of the many orders that have arisen therefrom, generally have long matted hair and always carry a pair of tongs and wear a necklace of *rudraksha* berries which are looked upon as being sacred to Siva When wearing anything other

than a loin cloth, they favour the skins of animals, usually the leopard and a white cloth is of particular abhorence to them

Of the many other Hindu Sects the only two that deserve special mention are the Brahmos and the Aryas. Each of these sects now has its recognised society or *samaj* and both are of comparatively recent origin

The introduction of Western culture and convention is primarily responsible for their appearance and the aim of members of both societies is to purify the Hindu beliefs and rid these of their idolatrous requirements The followers of the Brahmo cult are found chiefly in Bengal, but the movement has become stagnated to a very great extent and the trend of ultra modern thought is again to become absorbed in Hinduism

BRAHMO SAMAJ —The outstanding feature of this sect is its endeavour to purify Hinduism by the introduction of reforms based, broadly speaking, on the principles of Christianity Its adherents are chiefly Bengalis and according to the last Census Report numbered 6,388 as against 5,504 returned in the Report of 1911. Like the Aryas, the Brahmos are a modern schismatic sect who aim at the establishment of monotheism and the abolition of idolatry Unlike the Aryas, this sect refuse to recognise the caste system Consequently its proselytes have to renounce completely their former faith and are cut adrift from their relatives and friends. It is undoubtedly due to this factor that the samaj has comparatively failed to make any marked progress and those persons who, for various reasons, desire to wander from the beaten track of Hinduism yet without losing completely their identity as Hindus, favour the direction indicated by the Aryas in preference to the isolated path chosen by the Brahmos

The founder of the sect, a Brahman named Ram Mohan Roy, was born in 1772 and educated at Patna. At an early age he incurred the severe censure of his relatives and friends by writing a tract condemning the idolatrous practices of the Hindus This pamphlet created a small sensation and stirred up so much animosity that he had to leave home. After proceeding to Benares where

he received special instruction in the Vedas from certain Brahmans, he journied to Tibet to consider the doctrine of Buddhism Ram Mohan Roy possessed a strong desire to study all religious creeds as was evident from his determination to master the mother tongue of each creed so that he could study the Vedas, the Buddhist Tripitaka, the Koran and the Bible in their original language

The founder of this sect was a well known and respected citizen, who did much in aid of charities of all sorts and as a result of his determination to prove that the practice of Sati was not sanctioned in the Vedas, this rite was declared illegal by Lord William Bentinck in 1829 In 1830, Ram Mohan Roy consented to undertake a mission to the Home Government and was accordingly the first Brahman to cross the sea By his own personality and agreeable presence, he received a warm welcome in England where he stayed until his death in 1833

The Brahmo Samaj or Society of God was first founded in 1830, and according to the trust deed, it was stipulated that the society was formed for " the worship and adoration of the eternal, unsearchable and immutable Being, who is the Author and Preserver of the Universe, but *not* by any other name, designation or title peculiarly used by any men or set of men, and that in conducting the said worship and adoration, no object, animate or inanimate that has been or is or shall hereafter become an object of worship by any men or set of men, shall be reviled or slightingly or contemptuously spoken of or alluded to, either in preaching, or in the hymns or other mode of worship that may be delivered or used in the said messuage or building " *

The above passage clearly demonstrates the tolerance and liberality of thought upon which the founders desired to build the society

For some years after the death of the founder the activities of the Samaj languished until it was revived by Debendra Nath Tagore in 1843 Debendra's first step was to introduce an initiation ceremony which involved the renunciation of idolatry Up to this

* Lillington's *Brahmo Samaj and Arya Samaj*—page 51.

time, the Samaj had at least tolerated the caste system and orthodoxy of the Hindus, but the renunciation of idolatry and the subsequent repudiation of the Vedas led indirectly to the final rupture with Hinduism so far as the caste system was concerned The actual rupture was due to the activities of Kesheb Chundar Sen, a member of the society and a Vaidya by caste He headed a party who advocated a complete severance with Hinduism, the abolition of sect marks and the law prohibiting intermarriage between castes

Debendra Nath Tagore retired for a time after the advent of Kesheb Chundar Sen, but on his return, signified his acceptance of the latter's views by celebrating the marriage of his daughter according to the reform ritual Debendra was, however, obdurate over the question of the complete abolition of all caste restrictions and refused to accede to the views of the more progressive party As a result, the society became split into two sects, Kesheb's party becoming known as the Brahmo Samaj of India and the group under Debendra, as the Adi or original Samaj

Soon after the split amongst the members of the Samaj, several marriages had been arranged and the ceremony was performed according to the revised ritual of the Brahmic Church These marriages gave great offence to orthodox Hindus and even their legality was questioned

In order to remove criticism of this nature Kesheb moved Government to pass the Native Marriage Act When the Bill was enacted in 1872, it had the effect of introducing for the first time in history the institution of civil marriage into Hindu Society The Act allowed for the celebration of marriage before a Registrar between persons who did not profess any definite religious creed It also fixed the minimum age at 18 for the bridegroom and 14 for the bride

Kesheb, for some years prior to his death in 1884, appears to have developed marked tendencies towards mysticism and also came to consider himself as a prophet specially inspired These tendencies necessarily had an effect on the Samaj, but after

Kesheb's death, the Society returned once more to its original doctrine of pure theism and social reform

The formation of this Society was the first step in the history of India to endeavour to introduce reform and purification into Hinduism As already stated this attempt was made under the influence of Christianity and based on the very strong desire of the leaders to abolish polytheism and to eliminate the restrictions of caste In spite of the exceptionally strong personalities of the leaders and the flexibility of the Society's religious tenets, the Samaj has failed to attract a large number of disciples This state of affairs is not surprising when one considers the sacrifice necessary for a Hindu desiring to become a Brahmo The rules of the Society as framed at present require its members practically to cut themselves adrift from their relatives Further, they become outcasted and, in return, the Society offers but an ill-defined theism not readily appreciable by the ordinary Hindu

ARYA SAMAJ —Unlike the Brahmo Samaj, this sect is a strong and well organised Society, the membership of which is increasing rapidly as will be seen from the following figures taken from the Census Reports In 1901, the Arya Samaj numbered 92,000 souls, in 1911, 250,000 persons were returned as members and in the 1921 Census Report the number is shewn as 468,000 The increasing popularity of the sect is due to their broad point of view and the principles adopted by the Society which undoubtedly appeal to the better educated classes, whilst their determination to permit members to adhere to their former caste principles and traditions has proved a decided factor in their favour as against the somewhat rigid rules of the Brahmo Samaj According to the standard adopted by the Brahmos it is impossible for a person to accept membership and to remain a professing Hindu, as such a step involves the complete abandonment of caste and the social and family ties connected therewith Although the Aryas consider the caste system to be an obstacle to social progress, the sect at present provides a compromise by not requiring a complete abjuration on the part of its members

Of the numbers shewn above as belonging to this sect, the great majority are resident in the United Provinces and the Punjab, for it was in these Provinces that the movement originated

The founder of the sect was Pandit Dayananda Saraswati, a Brahman of Kathiawar, born in 1824 In common with all Brahmans, he became well versed in the Vedas at an early age and was subsequently initiated into the Saiva Sect to which his family belonged It seems, however, that even as a youth he was unable to countenance the idolatrous practices followed by the Saivas and according to Professor J C Oman's account given in the *"Cults, Customs and Superstitions of India,"* Dayananda could not regard the idol of Siva seated on his bull as an omnipotent deity in view of the idol's indifference to the activities of mice which nightly sported themselves by scampering over the face of the god

Ascetic philosophy appealed strongly to Dayananda and he forsook his home, partly to escape a marriage that had been arranged for him and also to allow for a complete and undisturbed study in Sanskritic lore and religious philosophies With the progress of his studies came an ever increasing inability to recognise the authority of the sacred books of the Hindus, other than the Vedas, until at last he launched a campaign against the orthodoxy of the Hindus This effort was accompanied by an intensive missionary propaganda, the result of which is to-day seen in the existence of the Arya Samaj When the movement had become well established, the founder forsook his asceticism and devoted himself to preaching the gospel of a revised creed for Hindus The attempted revision was based on the pure doctrines of the Vedas, the abolition of idolatry and the eradication of the extraneous influences which had in the past poisoned Hinduism and reduced it to a mere shadow of its former self It was Dayananda's contention that the Vedas did not permit of idolatry and further, that they inculcated monotheism Hinduism as at present conceived, required purging of the polytheistic ideas that had crept in during the course of its history The actual society now known as the Arya Samaj was not formed until 1877 and from that time onwards until his death in 1883 at Ajmer, the founder devoted his time to travelling throughout Northern India preaching and establishing branches in many

places According to certain Aryas as quoted in the United Provinces Census Report of 1901, Dayananda met his death by poison administered to him at the instigation of a prostitute against whose profession he had been lecturing

As pointed out by Russell in the *Tribes and Castes*, the Samaj constitutes an equitable compromise for those educated Hindus, who are unable to credit the mythology of their people, but at the same time, do not wish completely to break away from their old faith Theoretically, the Samaj admits to membership persons of any religious denomination and a number of Muhammedans have been received although they, in actual practice, are expected to renounce Islam

A large number of Sikhs also are to be found amongst members and they, in common with converts from other religions, have to undergo a ceremony of purification at the time of initiation A Brahman priest usually officiates at these ceremonies although the selection of a Brahman is optional The prescribed Hindu laws relating to marriage are usually conformed to, although lavish expenditure on weddings is strongly deprecated by members of the sect.

A somewhat peculiar doctrine preached by the founder of the Samaj on *Niyoga* has now, perhaps fortunately, become obsolete This doctrine related to the custom whereby childless women, whether married or widowed, could have sexual intercourse with men other than their husbands with the object of obtaining a heir as prescribed under certain circumstances by Hindu law According to Dayananda, a Hindu widow could resort in succession to five men, bearing each of them two children and in the case of a married woman, the same rule applied provided the husband's consent was first obtained If the husband had forsaken the woman for some years, no consent was necessary The idea of this proposal was to stamp out prostitution and secret *liaisons* of widows but it is obvious that the prevalence of such a custom would result in far greater evil than the abuses it was designed to eliminate. Although the *Niyoga* doctrine is no longer propounded by members of the Samaj, they are strongly determined to introduce the custom

of re-marriage of widows which undoubtedly appears to be a step in the right direction

The *shraddh* ceremony and the offering of oblations to the dead are not performed by Aryas neither do they consider heaven and hell as anything but figurative expressions relating to the condition of the soul of man

Generally speaking, the conduct of the Aryas, as a Society, is governed to an ever increasing extent by the Western code of social and religious morals and their chief aim seems to be towards the betterment of social conditions for their fellow countrymen Freer and wider educational facilities, especially for women, the endowment of orphanages, libraries, schools and dispensaries, etc , constitute the greater part of the activities of the Samaj The standard has been set for the regeneration of their fellow Indians and their watchword has been taken from one of their own poets who said —

Ah ! long have ye slept, Sons of India, too long !
Your country degenerate, your morals all wrong *

It is now proposed to give a brief outline of the three principal religions other than Hinduism and its various sects, to be found amongst the agricultural classes about whom this book is concerned.

* Vide Russell " *Tribes and Castes* "

BUDDHISM

As is well known, the founder of this religion was Gautama Buddha and it is curious to note that, not unlike the history of Christianity, its strongest supporters of the present day are to be found in countries other than the native land of its founder Gautama Buddha was born in the Gorakhpur district near the Himalayan foothills and although the tenets of Buddhism were first considered and adopted as the religion of North-East India, to-day it flourishes chiefly in Burma, Tibet, China, Japan and Ceylon and is practically unknown in its birthplace

Buddha, or "The Enlightened," sometimes known as *Sakyamuni*, or *Sakya Singha*, meaning the Sakya Sage (Sakya being the name of a stretch of territory to the north of the modern Basti-Gorakhpur districts in the United Provinces) was born about the middle of the fifth century B C at a time when Brahmanism had a very strong influence over the conduct of the Hindus Buddha was the son of a prince of the Kshatriya class and for this reason alone, the religious theory propounded by him was obnoxious to the Brahmans who considered themselves the sole spiritual pastors of the people

On attaining manhood, Gautama forsook his family and place of birth and went forth as a religious mendicant and after wandering over the country for some years, detached himself from the world and practised austerities for several years in a forest at Bodh Gaya in Bengal The outcome of this retirement was the development of the theory that man has the power of acquiring his own salvation and is able to raise himself to the level of the gods by the virtue of his own acts He then left Bodh Gaya on a pilgrimage, preaching the gospel of his newly acquired faith and in a comparatively short time had many followers and believers

The first progress of the religion of Buddha is obscure and confused owing to many mythological legends and superstitions of its supporters having become mixed with its early history

Many were the beliefs to the effect that Gautama was of supernatural origin and in order to exaggerate the antiquity of the creed,

the supporters have incorporated with the faith, the chronology of the Hindus It is thought by many people that Buddhism originated, not as a separate religion but as a schism from the Hindu faith One of the outstanding features of early Buddhism was the open repudiation of the Vedas and the disregard for the Brahmans and these two factors are in themselves sufficient to account for the antagonism of the Brahmans—not to mention the fact that the propagator of the new cult was not of the traditional "priestly" caste

During Buddha's life, his ministry was confined to a small following and when he died, about 487 B C, Buddhism was looked upon more as a Hindu Sect than as a separate religion The efficient organisation of the monastic system introduced by Buddha was no doubt the means which prevented the new cult from dying of inactivity, for the Buddhist monks organised considerable missionary propaganda during the two centuries that elapsed between the death of their founder and the ascension of the Emperor Asoka This great monarch, who, in early life is supposed to have been a staunch Brahmanical Hindu and devout worshipper of Siva, gradually became imbued with the spirit of Buddhism and eventually acknowledged it as the State religion. It is due to Asoka's comprehensive measures of evangelisation that the doctrine of a Hindu sect was transformed into one of the great religions of the world

The subsequent decline of Buddhism in India can be understood when we consider the inherent polytheistic inclinations of the people As a religion, it ignored the presence of a supreme god, and stipulated that the attainment of everlasting life depended upon the individual efforts of man Idolatry was a thing unknown amongst Buddhists whereas the religious teachings of the Brahmans as understood by the people, allowed for the mass production of idols to represent the gods Again, the celibacy necessary for the professing Buddhist was by no means in keeping with the spiritual tendencies of the people and the rigidity of the creed was anything but popular with the Hindus of the time Thus, many Hindus who had been converted to Buddhism slowly returned to their former belief and it seems quite possible that the alleged avatar of Vishnu

in his ninth incarnation as Gautama Buddha was preached by the Brahmans in their efforts to recall the wanderers to the fold

Although the religion, as first propounded, was free from idol worship, the course of time has seen the introduction of images in Buddha's likeness and amongst the more ignorant masses, particularly in Burma, great reverence is now paid to such idols and the alleged relics of this Saint

The monks in Burma or the Lamas of Tibet have now come to be looked upon in very much the same light as the Brahmans by the Hindus and these dignitaries are usually called in to officiate at weddings, funerals and domestic ceremonies of all kinds

Re-incarnation is a confirmed belief amongst all Buddhists and their desire for " Nirvana " or cessation of individual existence and absorption into the great spirit of Buddha is not unlike the beliefs of their Hindu brethren

Of the comparatively few Buddhists found in the districts from which labour is recruited, the Saraks of Orissa are perhaps the most numerous Mr Gait in the Census Report of 1901 pointed out that Sarak is derived from *Sravaka,* the Sanskrit word for a " hearer," the designation of the Buddhists monks who occupied the monastries Saraks are domiciled in the Feudatory States of Tigiria and Baramba and are also to be found in the Cuttack District where they are sometimes known as Saraki Tantis whose occupation is weaving and agriculture These people worship the Hindu deities in addition to Buddha, but do not employ Brahman priests nor observe Hindu festivals They have their own festivals which are held on the full moon days of Baisakh and Kartik (see Hindu Calendar) which are considered to be the anniversaries of Buddha's birth and attainment of Nirvana, respectively

JAINISM

In view of the antiquity of the religions of this country and the manner in which records were passed on from one generation to another, it is not surprising that doubt still exists as to the actual origin of many of the religious sects now in existence Such is the case with Jainism, although it is now generally recognised that the founder of this religion, admittedly contemporary with Gautama Buddha, was not a disciple of the Buddha, the belief is still held by some writers that Jainism is actually an offshoot of Buddhism This latter theory is seemingly based on the fact that the Jain tenets bear a very marked resemblance to those of Buddha but as stated above, it is more generally accepted that Jina, or the prophet of the Jains, was an actual historical personage who lived in the sixth century B C,

Jina, sometimes known as Vardhamana, is alleged to have been the son of a Chieftain, so that the Jains, in common with the Buddhists claim royal descent for their founder

Again, in common with Buddha, Vardhamana retired from ordinary life for several years, during which period he lived the life of an ascetic and devoted himself entirely to the development of his philosophical instincts. After this period of seclusion and renunciation, he came forth as a prophet and proclaimed a modification of the doctrine propounded by his former teacher Parasnath It was at this time that the title of Jina, or " victorious " was conferred upon him, from which the Jains take their name

Jainism was first preached as a religion in Bihar and has therefore its birth place in common with Buddhism Followers of both doctrines consider the same districts to be holy land and in many places their respective temples are adjoining Whatever the actual origin of Jainism may have been, there is sufficient evidence to incline one to the opinion that both religions originated in the same age and the similarity in their respective tenets is sufficient to indicate that both were influenced by the same school of thought

Professing Jains acknowledge no Creator of the universe and consider the world as having existed from eternity. They deny

the divine origin of the Vedas and originally recognised no God; they consider that Jina their prophet, like Buddha commenced life as an ordinary mortal, but by his own acts of self-denial and mortification, attained a status superior to that of any God The Jains also hold that out of pity for the suffering of mankind, Vardhamana preached the gospel of the way of salvation which he had found, for, being a mortal, he understood human weaknesses and was able to sympathise with the people and point the way to a higher state of existence

Like Buddhism, the doctrine propounded by Vardhamana was in itself too abstruse to be appreciated by the masses and, not unnaturally, the preceptor of the creed, in due course, came to be considered in the light of a God The mind of the people was unable to grasp the philosophical purport of the doctrine and required objects of worship in which the usual attributes of the gods might be shewn and it is quite probable that in order partially to make good this deficiency, a succession of mythological predecessors of the prophet was brought into existence by the subsequent preachers of the faith Accordingly, the Jains now believe in 24 *Jinas* or *Tirthankaras* as they are more commonly called These Tirthankaras appeared after long epochs of time and preached the gospel successively Of this number only Vardhamana, or the twenty-fourth Tirthankara, can have any claim to historical existence and he is usually considered as the founder of the faith Parasnath, the twenty-third Tirthankara, and the preceptor of the founder, was also an actual personage but the remaining twenty-two were purely mythical and created merely to give the required supernatural characteristics to Vardhamana These Jinas are now looked upon as saints and are worshipped as such so that although a Supreme God is not recognised by the Jains, in actual practice the saints constitute their deity

The principal feature of Jainism is the belief in the transmigration of souls and a series of incarnations Each incarnation is dependent upon the balance of all good and evil actions done in the immediate former existence The ultimate aim of the Jains is to escape from the endless round of successive incarnations or existences and to come to rest in the everlasting abode where the

soul or *jiva* is delivered from the necessity of again appearing in earthly form Jainism also contains certain primitive and animistic ideas for it is believed that the soul exists not only in human animals and plants, but in water, earth, fire, stone and that the soul of a human being may become incarnate in any of the foregoing by reason of sin If the total of actions shews an even balance of virtue and vice, the incarnation will again be in the form of man and it is by virtue alone that the soul can enter into the blessed abode This last state can only be acquired by the subjection of all human passions and by the observation of the moral code as prescribed by the religion The Jainistic theory of transmigration of souls is very similar to the Buddhist idea, only, with the Jains, it is believed that when the final stage has been reached and the spirit allowed to rest for ever, it is not absorbed into a Nirvana or state of blessed oblivion, but allowed to continue as a separate and complete entity

Unlike the Buddhists, certain sects of the Jains do not consider women to be ineligible for admission to the everlasting abode, although, according to Russell in the "*Tribes and Castes,*" the Jain scripture "speaks of women as the lamps that burn on the road that leads to the gates of hell"!

The ethics of the Jains are not unlike those of the Buddhists and certain sects of the Hindus, but their ascetics are called upon to exercise far greater rigidity in their mode of life than is the case with other religions The *Yati* or Jain ascetic is expected to take five vows by which he promises not to kill or injure any object that contains life, not to lie, to appropriate nothing that is not definitely his own property, to preserve chastity and temperance in word, thought and deed, and to observe modification in all his desires Most stress is laid upon the oath not to kill or hurt and killing or injuring living beings, plants, insects or the souls existing in stones, lumps of earth, etc., whether unintentionally or otherwise, by an ascetic is strictly prohibited Completely to carry out such an injunction requires a very strict watch over the mode of life and the functions of the body and "Yatis" are to be seen carrying brooms with which to sweep the ground before they

tread or sit upon it Spiked shoes are often worn and the mouth and nostrils are sometimes covered with a cloth so as to ensure, as far as possible, that insect life will not be destroyed by any action of the body The observance of truthfulness, subjection of covetousness, and the preservation of chastity in word, thought and deed is in order that disputes may be avoided which would lead to harm The rule of moderation in all things also covers self-sacrifice and an ascetic is usually without home or possessions and is expected to assume a complete disregard for his personal requirements and to subdue all feelings of attachment to anything in the world

Unlike the Buddhists, the Jains did not abolish completely the caste system and for this reason escaped much of the persecution that the Buddhists suffered at the hands of the Brahmans during the decline of Buddhism in the fifth century Also, owing to this persecution, many Buddhists renounced their original creed, but rather than become absorbed completely into Hinduism, took refuge in the doctrine of the Jains This fact may also account for the similarity in the beliefs of the two sects for a fusion of ideas was inevitable with the absorption of members of Buddhists into the ranks of the Jains Caste is still observed to a certain extent amongst the Jains, but no special caste has been reserved for the priesthood, Brahmans being called in in the majority of cases to officiate at any ceremony requiring the presence of a priest

The two principal sects of the Jains are the Digambara and the Swetambara, the former being the more numerous

According to the doctrine of the Digambara sect, death by starvation is necessary for ascetics who aspire to the kingdom of heaven, although this observation is nowadays considered to be fairly elastic Digambara means " sky clad " and formerly the ascetics of this sect wandered about naked although nowadays these people wear cloths which are, however, discarded at meal times

The Swetambara signifying " clothed in white " are in a numerical minority, but can be distinguished by their white clothing as against the yellow garments now adopted by the Digambara

According to Russell (op cit), the origin of the two sects may be traced to the theory that Parasnath, the twenty-third Tirthankar, wore clothes, but Mahavira, the twenty-fourth, went about naked and the two sects followed their respective examples One noticeable difference between the two sects is that the idols in the temples of the Digambara are invariably naked whilst those in the Swetambara temples are clothed in white.

Russell also gives the following very interesting and enlightening account of the initiation and prescribed conduct of a Yati or Jain ascetic* "It is frequent for Banias who have no children to vow that their first born shall be a Yati Such a boy serves a novitiate with a *guru* or preceptor and performs for him domestic offices, and when he is old enough and has made progress in his studies, he is initiated For this purpose, the novice is carried out of the tower with music and rejoicing in procession followed by a crowd of Sravakas or Jain laymen, and taken underneath the banyan, or any other tree, the juice of which is milky His hair is pulled out at the roots with five pulls, camphor, musk, sandal, saffron and sugar are applied to the scalp, and he is then placed before his *guru*, stripped of his clothes and with his hands joined A text is whispered in his ear by the *guru* and he is invested with the clothes peculiar to Yatis, two cloths, a blanket and a staff, a plate for his victuals and a cloth to tie them up in, a piece of gauze to tie over his mouth to prevent the entry of insects, a cloth through which to strain his drinking water to the same end, and a broom made of cotton threads or peacock feathers to sweep the ground before him as he walks, so that his feet may not crush any living thing The duty of the Yati is to read and explain the sacred books to the Sravakas morning and evening, such functions being known as Sandhya His food consists of all kind of grain, vegetables and fruit produced above the earth, but no roots, such as yams or onions Milk and *ghi* are permitted, but butter and honey are prohibited Some strict Yatis drink no water but what has first been boiled, lest they should inadvertently destroy any insect, it being less criminal to boil them than to destroy them in the drinker's stomach A Yati having renounced the world and all civil duties can have no family nor does he perform any office of

* Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces, Vol I, page 224

mourning or rejoicing A Yati was directed to travel about begging and preaching for eight months in the year, and during the four rainy months to reside in some village or town and observe a fast The rules of conduct to be observed by him were extremely strict, as has already been seen Those who observed them successfully were believed to acquire miraculous powers He who was a Siddh or victor and had overcome his Karma or the sum of his human actions and affections, could read the thoughts of others and foretell the future He who had attained Kewalgyan, or the state of perfect knowledge which preceded the emancipation of the soul and its absorption into paradise, was a god on earth and even the gods worshipped him Wherever he went all plants burst into flowers and brought forth fruit, whether it was their season or not In his presence no animal bore enmity to another or tried to kill it, but all animals lived peaceably together This was the state attained by each Tirthankar during his last sojourn on earth The number of Jain ascetics seems now to be less than formerly and they are not often met with, at least in the Central Provinces They do not usually perform the function of temple priest "

As already stated, the outstanding feature of the Jain religion as observed both by the laity and ascetics, is the sacredness of life, whether human, animal, insect or reptile As might be expected, the observance of this rule is followed more strictly by ascetics than laymen, although the great majority of the latter make it a practice not to eat or drink after sunset or before sunrise, so as to ensure that life in any form is not destroyed during darkness This rule must necessarily prove irksome at times and the more rational Jains now partake of food after dark if necessary, by the aid of a lamp covered by a sieve presumably to give the effect of the rays of the sun

Various institutions have been established, mostly by the Jains, to serve as animal hospitals at which places sick animals of all kinds are treated and refuge afforded to the aged and decrepit, until they die their natural death Such hospitals are generally known as *pinjrapal* or places of protection There is a large *pinjrapal* near Calcutta, to be seen from the train on the E B R In Rewah, where the Jain element is very strong, an edict of 1693

A D decreed that no animals intended for slaughter or sacrifice were to be carried past the temples or houses of the Jains and that any animals found being taken past a Jain dwelling could be set at liberty Criminals, robbers, traitors, etc , who sought sanctuary with a Yati could not be apprehended by the State Police and during the rains the potters' wheels and oil presses of the Telis were not allowed to be worked in order to preserve the insect life which was at its height at that season of the year *

With regard to the religious observances of the Jains, the priests in the Jain temples are not ascetics or Yatis, but are selected from amongst the ordinary members of the community These priests, whose services are honorary and voluntarily given in addition to their ordinary business, are expected to be well versed in the Jain scriptures and to make recitations therefrom when the people are gathered together at the temple for worship Usually a Jain, sometimes accompanied by his wife, pays daily visits to the temple before partaking of food and will go to another village if within practicable distance, if there is no temple in his own village'

Offerings of rice, cocoanuts, almonds, betul leaves, cloves and such like are made at the temples and these offerings are invariably taken by the keeper of the temple, who is usually a Hindu of the Mali caste, who performs menial duties and is expected to keep clean and in order the grounds of the temple Money offerings are sometimes made which go to a fund established for the maintenance of the temple

In all Jain temples are to be found images of the Tirthankaras before which the worshippers place candles, incense and flowers, hymns are sung in their honour and pilgrimages made to places sacred to their memory Each of the Tirthankaras has his own specific symbol or sign, pictures or models of which are invariably found near the images and usually depict an animal or fish such as a bull, elephant, horse, monkey, dolphin, tortoise, lion, serpent, etc , symbols of which are also to be found in company with the gods of the Hindu pantheon

* Rajasthan, Vol I, page 449

The temples which enshrine these Tirthankaras are of elaborate design and the outcome of much thought on the part of the Jains Architecturally, they are not unlike the ordinary Hindu temples, but invariably have a short conical spire tapering to a point at the apex and are frequently adorned with rich wood or stone carving Some of the temples have large halls, the roof and walls of which are inlaid with brass, silver and coloured stone to form various designs The columns supporting the roof are likewise profusely ornamented and carved in different ways and the halls usually contain one or more figures in marble to represent Vardhamana who is depicted as sitting in an attitude of contemplation with crossed hands and feet, very similar to the images of Buddha

The best Jain temples are to be found in the most remote spots, the theory being that they were built at the time of the Jain persecution by the Hindus when the Jains were compelled to seek refuge off the beaten track Jains from all parts of India have erected temples sacred to Mahavira at Palitana, or "Abode of the Pali," a town at the foot of the sacred mountain Satrunjya which rises to a height of 2,000 ft and is situated near the Gulf of Cambay in Kathiawar No habitations have been erected on the hill so that it forms an exclusive place of abode for the gods

Rewah has also afforded a haven for the Jains as will have been realised by the edict mentioned above and this State contains many temples and monuments sacred to the Jains One of the most remarkable is a stone column 70 ft in height erected in Chitor and dedicated to the memory of Parsvanath Mount Abu in Rajputana contains a number of remarkable Jain temples, some of which are built wholly of marble with exquisite tracing and carving and the place is a popular resort for pilgrims of this sect

In Eastern India the principal place of worship is at Parasnath, a hill in Bengal named after Parsvanath, where it is said that he and a number of his predecessors left the earth for the everlasting abode, a fine collection of Jain temples is also to be found at Betul in the Central Provinces

Nowadays, however, temples are to be found wherever a number of Jains have settled down to do business and a Bania, who has become sufficiently rich, often spends part or even the whole of his fortune in the erection of a temple, for great religious merit is attached to such an act and it ensures a more speedy access to the everlasting abode The opening ceremony of a newly built temple is an occasion of great festivity amongst the Jains and the *rath* or chariot festival is generally held Prior to the event, wooden carriages are constructed having a number of platforms raised in tiers upon which are placed the images of the Tirthankaras Images belonging to all those taking part in the ceremony are placed upon the carriages, each of which is usually drawn by two elephants. The carriages are then formed in procession and circle round the new temple seven times If elephants are not available, the cars are drawn by men As already stated, great religious value is attached to the erection of a temple and honorary and sometimes hereditary titles are conferred upon the founder, if more than one temple is built by the same man, he receives further and greater titles according to the number erected

With regard to the civil and domestic customs of the Jains, there is very little to distinguish them from ordinary Hindus As already mentioned, the outstanding feature of Jainism, is the sanctity of all forms of life, but in this respect they have much in common with another Hindu sect, *viz*, Vaishnavas, who also show a great tenderness towards life although not to such a marked extent The symbolic sign of Siva is not reverenced by the Jains neither do they acknowledge or recognise the authority of the Vedas

Jain wedding ceremonies are simple and almost primitive and far more importance is laid upon the civil obligations than on the religious The bride and bridegroom are compelled to walk seven times round a sacred post and are then seated upon a platform and in front of the assembly promise to conform to certain rules of conduct and to be law abiding citizens In former times, the bride spent the bridal night locked up in the temple and was considered to be the bride of the god, but latterly the Jains have considered this practice to be undesirable for various reasons and all that the bride is now expected to do is to be locked up in the temple for a

few minutes only when she is released from her imprisonment by the bridegroom and carried off by him

Like the Brahmans, Jain boys are invested with the sacred thread, which ceremony usually takes place at the boy's wedding or at the age of twenty-two if he is still unmarried. The thread, which is made by the priest, consists of tree-cotton and has three knots

The thread has to be renewed annually at the time of the full moon of Bhadon (August) before which event a fast for ten days is observed in honour of Anant Nath, the fourteenth Tirthankar

The funeral rites of the Jains are not unlike those of the ordinary Hindus and at the time of death, the corpse is allowed to retain its moustache and *choti* or scalp-lock At the time of a funeral, a caste feast is given and alms distributed but the Jains do not observe the *shraddh* ceremony of the Hindus

As might be expected in view of the strict moral and civil code prescribed for them by their religion, the Jains, as a community, are a very peaceful and law abiding body of citizens In the northern parts of India particularly, the Jains are mostly of a well educated class and the majority of Marwaris and Banias found all over India are usually to be numbered amongst this sect The tenet regarding the ploughing of the earth is not very strictly adhered to and a large number of Jains now follow the calling of agriculture for a living.

SIKH RELIGION.

The term "Sikh" denotes a "disciple" and the fact that these people have chosen such a name indicates the extent to which they have depended upon their spiritual teachers or "gurus" in all matters relating to their spiritual and communal welfare

The following taken from Sir Denzil Ibbetson's *Census Report of the Punjab* for 1881, gives a concise account of the religious history of the Sikhs under a succession of a number of able leaders "Sikhism was founded by Baba Nanak, a Khatri of the Punjab, who lived in the fifteenth century. But Nanak was not more than a religious reformer like Kabir, Ramanand and the other Vaishnava apostles He preached the unity of God, the abolition of idols and the disregard of caste distinctions His doctrine and life were eminently gentle and unaggressive He was succeeded by nine *gurus,* the last and most famous of whom, Govind Singh, died in 1708

"The names of the *gurus* were as follows —

1	Baba Nanak	1469—1538-9
2	Angad	1539—1552
3	Amar Das ..	1552—1574
4	Ram Das	1574—1581
5	Arjun	1581—1606
6	Har Govind	1606—1645
7	Har Rai .	1645—1661
8	Har Kishen .	1661—1664
9	Teg Bahadur	1664—1675
10.	Govind Singh	1675—1708

"Under the second *guru* Angad, an intolerant and ascetic spirit began to spring up among the followers of the new tenets, and had it not been for the good sense and firmness displayed by his successor, Amar Das, who excommunicated the Udasis and recalled his followers to the mildness and tolerance of Nanak, Sikhism would probably have merely added one more to the countless orders of ascetics and devotees which are wholly unrepresented in the life of the people The fourth *guru,* Ram Das,

"Teg Bahadur was succeeded by the last and greatest *guru,* his son Govind Singh, and it was under him that what had sprung into existence as a quiet sect of a purely religious nature, and had become a military society of by no means high character, developed into the political organisation which was to rule the whole of north-western India, and to furnish the British arms their stoutest and most worthy opponents For some years after his father's execution, Govind Singh lived in retirement and brooded over his personal wrongs and over the persecution of the Musalman fanatic which bathed the country in blood His soul was filled with the longing for revenge, but he felt the necessity for a larger following and a stronger organisation and, following the example of his Muhammedan enemies, he used his religion as the basis of political power Emerging from his retirement, he preached the *Khalsa,* the pure, the elect, the liberated He openly attacked all distinctions of caste and taught the equality of all men who would join him, and instituting a ceremony of initiation, he proclaimed it as the *pahul* or "gate" by which all might enter the society, while he gave to its members the *prasad* or communion as a sacrament of union in which the four castes should eat of one dish. The higher castes murmured and many of them left him, for he taught that the Brahman's thread must be broken, but the lower orders rejoiced and flocked in numbers to his standard These he inspired with military ardour, with the hope of social freedom and of national independence, and with abhorrence of the hated Muhammedan He gave them outward signs of their faith in the unshorn hair, the short drawers and the blue dress, he marked the military nature of their calling by the title of Singh or "lion," by the wearing of steel, and by the initiation by sprinkling of water with a two edged dagger, and he gave them a feeling of personal superiority in their abstinence from the unclean tobacco

"The Muhammedans promptly responded to the challenge, for the danger was too serious to be neglected, the Sikh army was disposed of and Govind's mother, wife and children were murdered at Sirhind by Aurangzeb's orders The death of the emperor brought a temporary lull, and a year later, Govind himself was assassinated while fighting the Marathas as an ally of Aurangzeb's

successor He did not live to see his ends accomplished, but he had raised the dormant spirit of the people and the fire which he lit was only damped for a while His chosen disciple, Banda, succeeded him in the leadership, though never recognised as *guru* The internal commotions which followed on the death of the emperor, Bahadur Shah, and the attacks of the Marathas weakened the power of Delhi, and for a time Banda carried all before him; but he was eventually conquered and captured in A D 1716 and a period of persecution followed, so sanguinary and so terrible, that for a generation, nothing more was heard of the Sikhs How the troubles of the Delhi Empire thickened, how the Sikhs again rose to prominence, how they disputed the possession of the Punjab with the Mughals, the Marathas, and the Durani, and were at length completely successful, how they divided into societies under their several chiefs and portioned out the Province among them, and how the genius of Ranjit Singh raised him to supremacy and extended his rule beyond the limits of the Punjab, are matters of political and not of religious history. No formal alteration has been made in the Sikh religion since Govind Singh gave it its military shape, and though changes have taken place, they have been merely the natural result of time and external influences

" The word Sikh is said to be derived from the common Hindu term Sewak and to mean simply a disciple, it may, therefore, be applied to the followers of Nanak, who held aloof from Govind Singh, but in practice, it is perhaps understood to mean only the latter, while the Nanakpanthis are considered as Hindus A true Sikh always takes the termination Singh to his name on initiation and hence they are sometimes known as Singhs in distinction to the Nanakpanthis A man is also not born a Sikh, but must always be initiated and the *pahul* or rite of baptism cannot take place until he is old enough to understand it, the earliest age being seven, while it is often postponed until manhood Five Sikhs must be present at the ceremony, when the novice repeats the articles of the faith and drinks sugar and water stirred up with a two edged dagger At the initiation of women, a one-edged dagger is used, but this is seldom done Thus most of the wives of Sikhs have never been initiated, nor is it necessary that their children should become Sikhs when they grow up The faith is

unattractive to women owing to the simplicity of its ritual and the absence of the feasts and ceremonies so abundant in Hinduism, formerly, the Sikhs were accustomed to capture their wives in frays and hence perhaps it was considered of no consequence that the husband and wife should be of different faith The distinguishing marks of a true Sikh are the five *Kakkas* or *K's* which he is bound to carry about his person, the *Kes* or uncut hair and unshaven beard, the *Kachh* or short drawers ending above the knee, the *Kasa* or iron bangle, the *Khanda* or steel knife, and the *Kanga* or comb The other rules of conduct laid down by Guru Govind Singh for his followers were to dress in blue clothes and especially eschew red or saffron coloured garments and caps of all sorts, to observe personal cleanliness, especially in the hair, and practice ablutions, to eat the flesh of such animals only as had been killed by *jatka* or decapitation, to abstain from tobacco in all its forms, never to blow out flame nor extinguish it with drinking water, to eat with the head covered, pray and recite passages of the Granth morning and evening and before all meals, reverence the cow, abstain from the worship of saints and idols and avoid mosques and temples and worship the one God only, neglecting Brahmans and Mullas, and their scriptures, teaching, rites and religious symbols Caste distinctions he positively condemned and instituted the *prasad* or communion, in which cakes of flour, butter and sugar are made and consecrated with certain ceremonies while the communicants sit round in prayer, and then distributed equally to all the faithful present, to whatever caste they may belong The above rules, so far as they enjoin ceremonial observances, are still very generally obeyed But the daily reading and reciting of the Granth is discontinued, for the Sikhs are the most uneducated class in the Punjab and an occasional visit to a Sikh temple where the Granth is read aloud is all that the villager thinks necessary Blue clothes have been discontinued save by the fanatical Akali sect, as have very generally the short drawers or Kachh The prohibition of tobacco has had the unfortunate effect of inducing the Sikhs to take to hemp and opium, both of which are far more injurious than tobacco The precepts which forbid the Sikh to venerate Brahmans or to associate himself with Hindu worship are entirely neglected; and in the matter of the worship

MUHAMMADANISM.

Muhammadanism or *Islam* was introduced into India in the eighth century of our era with the invasion of Muslims from the North-West These invasions continued intermittently until the latter half of the eighteenth century, and the religion of the invaders was forced upon the people

According to the last Census Report, the Muhammadans number 69 millions in India and they are found chiefly in the North and North-Western Territories. The religion found little support in Bengal, and the Southern parts of the Peninsula remained loyal to Hinduism

The term *Islam* is derived from the Arabic *Salm* " he was saved " and signifies resignation to the will of God Hence the term Muslim or Musalman applies to the followers of Islam

Muhammad, the founder of Islam, was born in Mecca in 570 A D and was the posthumous son of Abdulla of the Quraish tribe Mecca at this time was the home of idolatry and at a very early age, Muhammad was taken by his grandfather to the *Qaaba,* the chief temple of the Arabs, where he received the name of Muhammad which signifies the " Praised One " Whilst still a youth, he accompanied his uncle on a trading expedition to Syria and acquired a knowledge of commerce and trade Shortly after this trip, he was appointed manager to the estates of a wealthy widow named Khadiyah whom he subsequently married at the age of twenty-five For the next fifteen years he lived as an ordinary citizen of Mecca and except for a propensity for solitude and meditation, there was nothing to mark him from the rest of his fellows With the ripening of years he developed into a great thinker and his reputation as such soon extended He was invariably called in to settle tribal disputes and the story is related how he was arbitrator in a dispute when the Qaaba was being rebuilt There was a remarkable " Black Stone " which was held sacred by the Arabs and they could not agree as to who should have the honour of placing it in the restored temple Muhammad was called in, and he settled the dispute to everybody's satisfaction by having a shawl placed under the stone and giving an end to each of the leaders

work had been completed Under a presentiment that his end was approaching, Muhammad returned to Medina and expired in the following year, i e, 632 A D

With the death of the Prophet arose great consternation among the people and it was deemed expedient to appoint a Khalifa or successor as soon as possible In the absence of a son to succeed the Prophet, Abu Bakr, a personal friend of the Prophet was elected As the outcome of this election, the Muhammedans became divided into two parties, on one side were the supporters of Abu Bakr, and on the other those who considered Abu Bakr to be a usurper and favoured the claim of Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of Muhammad, to be followed by one of Ali's sons, Hassan or Hossain The effect of this dissension is manifest amongst the followers of the Prophet, even to this day

The Muhammadans as a whole, in India, do not conform to any definite caste system although a small percentage have adopted caste names The chief castes are the Bohra and Khoja, merchants—these people are of the Shiah sect, Bahnas, cotton cleaners, Julahas, weavers, Kacheras, glass-makers, Kunjras, green-grocers, Kasais, butchers, Rangrez, dyers The Fakirs or Holy mendicants are also considered as a separate caste

The Muhammadans, like the Hindus, favour comparatively early marriage and according to Russell, the marriagable age for boys is from 18 to 25, in the case of girls from 10 to 20 As he points out, amongst the better educated, the age for marriage is getting later both for girls and boys

Ordinarily, marriage between near relations is prohibited although it is permitted between first cousins Marriage to a polytheist is also forbidden, also marriage with a Jewess or Christian is discountenanced For a Muhammadan marriage there is no special religious ceremony, neither are special rites essential Marriage amongst these people is much more of a civil than a religious contract than with the Hindus, and provided both persons are legally competent and the marriage is arranged in the presence of two males or one male and two female witnesses, nothing further

is required The ceremony varies amongst the different Muhammadan sects Amongst the Shiah sect, four chapters of the Koran are read by the Kazi at a wedding, the contracting parties are required to profess their belief, *i e*, the Zabina, and having expressed their mutual consent, the Kazi blesses them and says — "The great God grant that mutual love may reign between this couple as it existed between Adam and Eve, Abraham and Sarah, Joseph and Zuleika, Moses and Zipporah, His Highness Muhammad and Ayesha and His Highness Ali and Fatimah"* It is necessary to pay a dowry to the wife and the amount is usually fixed at Rs 17, the dowry of Fatimah, or at Rs 750 as in the case of the Prophet's wife, Ayesha

A Muhammadan wedding is, like other such ceremonies, whether Hindu or Christian, an occasion for feasting and revelry In common with the Hindus, the Muhammadan bride and bridegroom are annointed with oil and turmeric and a further essential rite is the rubbing of the hands and feet of the bridegroom with red henna

Divorce laws amongst Muhammadans have a comparatively wide scope and the husband can obtain a divorce by merely reciting certain prescribed sentences In the case of the woman, a divorce is permissible on the grounds of impotence, madness, leprosy or the non-payment of the dowry Polygamy is permitted up to the limit of four wives, but there is a growing feeling against polygamy, particularly amongst the better educated, and in some cases, a contract is signed at the time of marriage prohibiting a marriage with a second wife during the life time of the first Widow re-marriage is permissible but Hindu law on this subject has had certain influences and amongst the more influential Muhammadans, it is considered objectionable

Many are the devices and beliefs for procuring children prevalent amongst Muhammadan women as the following account taken from the *Bombay Gazette*, page 147 will show "Blockmann notes that the tomb of Saint Salim-i-Chishti at Fatehpur-Sikri in whose house the Emperor Jahangir was born, is up to the present day

* Hughes' Dictionary of Islam s v Marriage

visited by childless Hindu and Musalman women A tree in the compound of the Saint Shiah Alam of Ahmedabad yields a peculiar acorn-like fruit, which is sought after far and wide by those desiring children, the woman is believed to conceive from the moment of eating the fruit If the birth of a child follows the eating of the acorn, the man and woman who took it from the tree should for a certain number of years, at the anniversary of the saint, visit and nourish the tree with a supply of milk In addition to this, jasmine and rose bushes at the shrines of certain saints are supposed to possess issue-giving properties To draw virtue from the saints, the woman who yearns for a child bathes and purifies herself and, going to the shrine seats herself under or near the jasmine bush with her skirt spread out As many flowers as fall into her lap so many children will she have In some localities if after the birth of one child no other son is born, or being born does not live, it is supposed that the first-born child is possessed by a malignant spirit who destroys the young lives of the new born brothers and sisters So at the mother's next confinement, sugar and sesame seeds are passed seven or nine times over the new born infant from head to foot and the elder boy or girl is given them to eat The sugar represents the life of the young one given to the spirit, who possesses the first-born A child born with teeth already visible is believed to exercise a very malignant influence over its parents and to render the early death of one of them almost certain "

With regard to the christening ceremony and selection of names for children the following account is given by Russell * —

" A woman goes to her parent's home after the last pregnancy rite and stays there until her confinement is over The rites performed by the mid-wife at birth resemble those of the Hindus When the child is born the *azan* or summons to prayer is uttered aloud in his right ear and the *takbir* or Muhammadan creed in his left The child is named on the sixth or seventh day Sometimes the name of an ancestor is given or the initial letter is selected from the Koran at a venture and a name beginning with that letter is chosen Some common names are those of the hundred

* Castes and Tribes of the C P, Vol I, p 254

titles of God combined with the prefix *abd* or servant Such are Abdul Aziz, servant of the all-honoured, Ghani, the everlasting, Karim, the gracious, Rahim, the pitiful, Rahman, the merciful; Razzak, the bread giver, Sattar, the concealer, and so on, with the prefix *Abd*, or servant of, in each case Similarly Abdullah, or servant of God, was the name of Muhammad's father and is a very favourite one Other names end with Baksh or "given by" as Haidar Baksh, given by the lion, these are similar to the Hindu names ending in Prasad The prefix Ghulam, or slave of, is also used, Ghulam Hussain, slave of Hussain, and names of Hebrew patriarchs mentioned in the Koran are not uncommon, as *Ayub* Job, *Harun* Aaron, *Ishaq* Isaac, *Musa* Moses, *Yakub* Jacob, *Yusaf* Joseph, and so on"

After child-birth, a woman is not permitted to enter a mosque, or read the Koran, neither is she allowed to pray or fast for a period of forty days At the end of this time she is bathed and dressed in fine clothes and relatives and friends bring presents for the child As Russell points out, this custom would appear to be a relic of the period of impurity of women after child-birth In some parts of India, a rite called *Ukika* is performed after the birth of a child It consists of a sacrifice in the name of the child In the case of a boy, two he-goats are offered and one after the birth of a girl It is necessary that the goats should be fine specimens and not younger than one year The flesh is separated from the bones in such a manner that not a single bone is broken and after the ceremony, the skin, bones, feet and head are buried in the ground When the flesh is severed, the following prayer is offered by the father —" O, Almighty God, I offer in the stead of my own offspring life for life, blood for blood, head for head, bone for bone, hair for hair, and skin for skin In the name of God do I sacrifice this he-goat " The analogy between this rite and the intended sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham is obvious although amongst the Muhammadans, it is believed that Ismail, the ancestor of the Arabs, was offered and not Isaac *

Soon after the Ukika sacrifice the child's hair is shaved Amongst the rich, the hair is weighed against silver and the

* Qanun i-Islam, p 20

equivalent is distributed amongst beggars The hair is tied up in a cloth and either buried or thrown into a river

In some cases, tufts of hair are sometimes left in honour of a saint and after a few years the child is taken to the tomb of the saint and the head is then shaved

When a girl is a year or so old, the lobes of her ears are pierced. In due course, further holes are bored along the edge of the ear until she has thirteen holes in the right ear and twelve in the left. Silver trinkets and earrings are worn in the holes This custom is now confined to the more ignorant classes and has now ceased amongst the educated

Unlike the Hindus, the Muhammadans bury their dead When a man is about to die, a portion of the Koran relating to the happiness in store for the faithful in the next life is read, and sherbet is poured into his mouth When the man has expired his body is wrapped in five cloths The same attention is afforded a dying woman, in her case, after death the body is swathed in three cloths The body is placed on a bier over which camphor is spread The body is then borne to its last resting place attended by the male relatives and friends of the deceased Women do not usually attend funerals The mourners walk in solemn procession behind the bier, for it is believed by the Muhammadans that angels invariably precede the corpse so that it is expedient for the relatives and friends to follow after To carry the bier is a much sought after honour, for great merit is attached to the act The body is quickly transported to the place of interment, for Muhammad is alleged to have stated that it is desirable to convey the dead quickly to the grave so that the righteous person may attain heavenly bliss with the least possible delay Similarly in the case of the unrighteous, it is as well to rid one's shoulders of wickedness as soon as possible The last service is not conducted at the cemetery, as such a place is considered to be too polluted to permit the recitation of the Scriptures An adjacent mosque or open space close to the dwelling of the deceased is usually chosen and the service is recited by a near relative or family priest Coffins are not usually provided except amongst the rich and when the body has been placed in the grave, each of the relatives and friends present

sprinkles a handful of earth into the grave and chants the following verse from the Koran —" From earth we made you, to earth we return you and out of earth we shall raise you on the resurrection day " On the third day following the funeral, a feast is given and each of the guests is presented with flowers, which, after being dipped in oil, are taken and laid on the grave On the evening of the ninth day another feast is given to which friends and beggars alike are invited On the following morning a second offering of flowers is made Subsequent feasts are given on the fortieth day after death and then after four, six, nine months and one year

As Russell points out, none of these observances is prescribed by the Koran, but they have been retained either from pre-Islamic days or adopted from similar customs favoured by the Hindus

With regard to the religious principles of Islam, the second chapter of the Koran, verse 172, affords a concise summary

" It is no good that ye turn your faces in *prayer* to the east or the west, but goodness is of him who believes in God, and the Hereafter, and the Angels, and the Books, and the Prophets who gives of his wealth for His love to kindred, and the orphans and the poor, and the homeless and those who ask, and for the captives, who is steadfast in prayer and gives alms, and of those who perform their covenants when they have covenanted, and who behave themselves patiently in adversity and hardships, and in time of violence, these are the true, and these are the pious " *

It will be noted that the principle of " charity beginning at home " is definitely laid down for the Faithful The first attention of the charitable in Islam is directed to poorer kinsmen and then come acts of public charity

The five observances required by the Muhammadan religion are the Qalima or Creed, Sula, the five daily prayers, Roza, the thirty day fast of Ramazan, Zakab, the legal alms, Hajj, the pilgrimage to Mecca which should be undertaken once in a life time The Creed consists of the sentences " There is but one God and Muhammad is His Prophet " and " I testify there is no deity but

* Translation by Mirza Abul-Fazl

God alone, without companion—and I testify that Muhammad is his servant and prophet " The five periods for prayer are Fajr-ki-namaz, in the morning before sun rise, Zohar, the mid-day prayer, Asur, the afternoon prayer, Maghrib, or the evening prayer immediately after sunset, and Aysha when prayers are offered up after the close of day Personal ablutions are necessary before prayers are offered with particular attention to the cleanliness of the hands and feet In big Muhammadan centres or in countries where the Islamic faith is predominant, the weird allurement of the daily " call to prayer " from the minarets of the mosques outlives the initial curiosity of the newcomer and subsequent apathy at hearing the same cry repeated daily, the weird mysticism of the call that " God is Great, God is great, God is great! I bear witness that there is no God but God I bear witness that Muhammad is the Apostle of God Come to prayers Come to prayers Come to salvation Come to salvation God is great There is no other God but God ", following closely, as it does, the tinkling of bells from a hundred minarets, never ceases to convey to the mind of the Westerner something vague, inexplicable and truly in keeping with the spirit of the East, the spirit that has survived the influence of successive waves of alien culture introduced by conquering invaders and will continue to defy the efforts of western civilization and makes manifest the truth of Kipling's lines that " East is East and West is West, but never the twain shall meet "

The third necessary observance is the fasting during the month of Ramazan Ramazan is the ninth month of the Muhammadan year, but as the year is based on a lunar and not a solar method of calculation, the months do not necessarily follow the seasons It so happens, therefore, that this month falls in the hottest season of the year for many years in succession, and the meaning of having to abstain from food and drink of any sort from sun rise to sun set can be imagined better than described This fast must be particularly trying in the case of Muhammadan servants who are expected to carry out their household duties as usual

The fast begins with the new moon, or if the moon is invisible after thirty days from the beginning of the previous month In addition to total abstinence from food and drink, betul-leaf and

tobacco are not allowed and conjugal intercourse is abjured for the whole period It is thought by some writers that the fast was instituted by the Prophet on the lines of the Christian Lent, which was strictly observed in the early days of the Eastern Church and he may not have reflected that his action in discarding the intercalary month of the Arabs in preference to the simple lunar months would cause the fast to move round the whole year Self-denial and dispensation of charity at this time of the year is incumbent upon the faithful, and as Russell states—" It is a divine command to give alms annually of money, cattle, grain, fruit and merchandise If a man has as much as eighty rupees, or forty sheep and goats, or five camels, he should give alms at specified rates amounting roughly to two and a half per cent of his property In the case of fruit and grain, the rate is one-tenth of the harvest for unirrigated and a twentieth for irrigated crops These alone should be given to pilgrims who desire to go to Mecca, but have not the means, and to religious and other beggars if they are very poor, debtors who have not the means to discharge their debts, champions of the cause of God, travellers without food and proselytes to Islam. Religious mendicants consider it unlawful to accept the *zakat* or legal alms unless they are very poor, and they may not be given to Saiyads or descendants of the Prophet " The giving and acceptance of alms amongst the Muhammadans is not of the same indiscriminate nature as amongst the Hindus, neither do mendicants, spiritual or otherwise, receive the same toleration Their charity is, however, equally lavish although subject to greater judgment This reasoning is based on the teachings of the Scripture for the Prophet condemned beggary on many occasions and in no uncertain terms The story is related how a man came to the Prophet begging alms, the Prophet said " Have you nothing at home? " " Yes," said the beggar, " I have a large carpet, with one part of which I cover myself and spread the other, and a wooden cup out of which I drink water " The Prophet said, " Bring me the carpet and the cup," and when the man brought them, Muhammad took them in his hands and said, " Who will buy these " A man said, " I'll buy them for one chicken " The Prophet said, " Who will give more ? " This he repeated twice or thrice, until another man paid two chikens Muhammad gave

away the carpet and the cup to that man, and taking the two chickens, gave them to the man saying, " Buy food with one of them and give it to your family that they may make it their sustenance for a few days and buy a hatchet with the other and bring it to me " And when the man brought it, Muhammad himself put a handle to it and giving it to the man, said, " Go thou and cut wood and sell it and let me not see thee for a fortnight " The man did as he was commanded and when after a fortnight he came to Muhammad, he had already got the chickens The Prophet blessed him and said, " Buy a garment with part of them and food with part, and verily this thy cutting of wood and selling it and making thy livelihood by it is more honourable for thee than begging " *

The Hajj or pilgrimage to Mecca is the fifth obseverance required of the followers of Islam It is incumbent upon all who have the means to do so to journey to Mecca although comparatively few Muhammadans from India now undertake it Mecca is the Arabian Capital, situated about seventy miles from the Red Sea The journey should be undertaken during the last month of the Muhammadan year so that the pilgrim will be present in Mecca for the Bakr-Id or Id-ul-Zuha festival which is held on the 10th day of Dhul-hija

At the last stage of the journey, just before Mecca is reached, the pilgrim dons a special kind of dress made of seamless pieces of cloth, one piece is wrapped round the waist and the other round the shoulders On arrival at Mecca, he undergoes certain ablutions, visits the sacred mosque and kisses the Black Stone

He partakes of the water of the sacred well of Zem-Zem from which Ishmael drew water when he was dying of thirst in the wilderness On the day of the Id-ul-Zuha he performs the sacrifice of offering a he-goat or a ram for every member of his family Having refrained from shaving and paring his nails during the whole journey, the pilgrim is now permitted to do so and the hair and parings are buried at the place of sacrifice But for encompassing the sacred mosque, the pilgrimage is now ended, but it is

* Translated from the Arabic by Mirza Abul-Fazl
" Selections from the Koran "

desirable that the pilgrim should visit the tomb of Muhammad at Medina before returning to his home One who has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca is entitled thereafter to the title of " Haji "

In view of the simple nature of the religion of Islam, it is easy to understand that their feasts and festivals have not the same importance as those of the Hindus With the latter, feasts and festivals are essential to the religion whereas Muhammadan festivals bear a far greater historical than religious significance and usually mark the anniversary of some event which happened in the early days of Islam One of the most important of the festivals is the Muharram and the following is the account given by Buck in the " Faiths, Fairs and Festivals " " The Muslim month of mourning is called Muharram, the first month of their year New Year's Day with the Musalmans dawns as a day of grief and lamentation for it is the prelude to the greatest tragedy in Islam The fateful tenth of the month is the anniversary of the martyrdom of Hassain, the son of Ali, and grandson of the Prophet On that day occurred the massacre at Kerbala

" Ali was the fourth Khalif of Islam, on his death, a general named Moaviah installed himself in his place and when he died, his son Yazeed was appointed successor The people appealed to Imam Husain at Mecca to free them from the intolerable yoke of Yazeed, and he started with a party consisting of his family and a few devoted followers, for Kufa On the way, he encamped at Kerbala near the banks of the Euphrates and there he was surrounded After a conference, fighting began and Husain and his party were all slaughtered

" In Shiah homes, in apartments called *Imambara* or *Husain Dalan*, ceremonies are performed in this connection, these are now held on a large scale at Hyderabad, Bombay, Lucknow, Dacca, Murshidabad, Patna, Hooghly and Calcutta, where the Shiahs predominate.

" In Persia—the centre and stronghold of Shiaism—the event is commemorated with great pomp and solemnity in buildings called *Takya*.

" The *Imambara* is decorated profusely with flags and shawls; professional reciters discourse on the episodes of the tragedy, the audience weep copiously, there are lamentations and beating of the breasts and sometimes self-scourging with iron chains and other instruments.

" The more important *majlis* (assemblies) are held at the principal *imambaras* On the 7th, 8th and 10th of Muharram, processions are formed to represent the three battles fought on those dates These are headed by a large glass case called *Zulfakar,* containing the supposed sword of Husain and other sacred articles Persons follow with silver handled flags and poles surmounted with cones or hands—the *allam,* or standard of Imam Husain was of green colour with a five finger design upon it They march in solemn silence At the rear are led a number of richly caparisoned horses with turbans and swords on their backs, milk is sprinkled on the horses' feet by the public These animals are called *Dulduls* and represent the steeds of the Imam Large groups of mourners accompany them, reciting verses and beating their chests This portion of the procession represents the battle-field of Kerbala

" Only Shiahs take out the *Duldul* at Muharram and when they are few, this portion of the ceremony is generally not allowed as it leads to ill-feeling *Duldul* was the name of the horse on which Husain rode and which returned riderless when its master was slain

" The tenth of the month is the *ashura,* or special day and the procession is then followed by an imitation funeral cortège The *Sunnis* then bring out a number of *tazias,* which are imitation shrines made of paper, pith and tinsel on a framework of bamboo, some are small and carried by one person, others are so large that they require a dozen or more men to carry them "

Price Collier, in his book—" The West in the East "—thus describes this part of the ceremony as performed at Lucknow —
" Various features of the tragic history of the death of Hassain and Husain are represented during the procession and at the interment, and every now and again the procession halted, while an excited orator rehearsed some portion of the story They marched, chanting the names of the martyrs, beating their breasts, throwing dust

on their heads, they are all bare-headed on this occasion, weeping and wailing One group carried what looked like short flails and to the ends of the cords were tied knife blades, these they whirled around their heads, bringing them down on their shoulders and backs, which were streaming with blood

" To see a group of these men stop and burst into groans, tears and wild cries of grief, to see their breasts bruised and in some cases the skin broken by the beating of their fists, to see them covered with blood, dust and sweat, their faces haggard, their eyes blazing with excitement, to hear one of them recite part of the tale of woe, his eyes streaming with tears and his voice choked with emotion, and the tale punctuated with wild cries and shrieks and lusty pummelling of the breast on the part of his hearers, while little children and old women throw dust on their own and each other's heads, is the most amazing spectacle of religious enthusiasm that one may see anywhere in the world to-day

" The chief difference in the observance of the Muharram is that the Shiahs celebrate it with mourning and bring out *Dulduls*, whereas the Sunnis do not

" During this fatal month of Muharram, the Khalif Osman was assassinated in 656 A D Ali was stabbed to death in a mosque at Kufa in 660 A D Hassain was poisoned during his retirement in a hermitage near Medina and last of all Husain was speared to death in the conflict at Kerbala by a man named Shamir, a name which is detested by Shiahs to this day "

Id-ul-Fitr or the breaking of the fast is held on the first day of the 10th month, Shawal, *i e*, on the day after the end of the fast of Ramazan On this day, the people don their best clothes and retire to the Id-Gah, a building erected outside the city The building consists of a platform with a wall erected at the western end in the direction of Mecca Prayers are offered and the people then return to their homes and the rest of the day is spent in feasting and merriment, vermicelli being the special dish eaten on this day

Id-ul-Zuha or the " feast of sacrifice," sometimes known as the " feast of daylight," and the *Bakr-Id* or " goat festival " are

held on the tenth day of the last month, Zil-haj. The festival is more commonly known by the latter name, and is held in commemoration of the sacrifice of an animal in lieu of his son, by Abraham. Although it is not definitely stated in the Koran, Muslems as a rule believe it to be Ismail and not Isaac, who was offered according to the version given in the old Testament. The lavish sacrifice of rams and goats on this occasion will therefore be understood, the sale of sacrificial animals is by no means inconsiderable on the evening prior to the festival.

Before concluding this section on Muhammadanism, it is necessary to give a brief account of the two principal sects to which the majority of the followers of Islam belong. These two sects are the Shiahs and the Sunnis.

The word Shiah is derived from the Arabic *Shihat* a "follower." Their chief claim is that the direct descendants of Muhammad should have hereditary right to the Kalifat and consider that Ali and his line alone should have followed the Prophet as *Imam* or leader of the faithful. Ali was the cousin of the Prophet and husband of Fatimah, the daughter of Muhammad by his first wife, Khadiyah. For this reason, the Shiahs have always shown animosity towards the first three Khalifs, who succeeded the Prophet and to this day show their hatred by maltreating effigies made on the occasion of a festival called Ghadir.

The veneration accorded to Ali is second only to that shown to Muhammad and the following clause is added to the creed, "And Ali is the Wali (agent or confidant) of God."*

It is further believed that "the light of Muhammad"—*Nur-i-Muhammad* passed into Ali and subsequently to the "twelve Imams." The last of the Imams was lost sight of in 873 A. D but is to this day expected to appear again. This belief has given occasion to several Musalmans to pose as the last Imam or Madhi and as such have managed to attract quite a number of followers, not least amongst the alleged Madhi was the famous Madhi of the Soudan. The influence of each of these people has, however, passed

* Faiths, Fairs and Festivals

with their day and their followers have again become absorbed into Shiaism

The Imam or leaders have come to be considered by Shiahs in the light of saints and it is by no means an uncommon belief *that they are but the incarnations of Ali*

It is over the question of the Imams that the Shiahs and Sunnis have become so widely divergent in their views until now-a-days their differences are so great that each sect looks upon the other as heretic and disputes between the two factions are as bitter as they are frequent

The Sunnis —This sect has the numerical superiority and perhaps for this reason has come to be considered as the orthodox Musalman's sect The origin of their name is from " Sunnah " or tradition and their principles are based on the belief that the people had the right to nominate the successors of the Prophet without reference to lineage. In this manner they have supported the succession of Abu Bakr, Omar and Osman, the three Imams, against whom the Shiahs have developed such an intense hatred The Sunnis are found chiefly in India with strong supporters in Arabia, Egypt, Turkey and Syria whilst the stronghold of the Shiahs is in Persia

Below will be found the Muhammadan calendar showing the principal festivals *

	Months	Number of Days	Festivals	Dates
1	Muharram	30	Muharram	1st to 10th
2	Saphar	29		
3	Rabi-il-awal	30	Bara Wafat	12th
4	Rabi-ul-sani	29	Hassain's birthday	
5	Jamada-ul-awal	30		
6	Jamada-ul-sani	29	Day of Victory	15th
7	Rajab	30	Prophet's ascension	20th
8	Shaban	29	Shab-i-Barat	14th
9	Ramazan	30	Fast of Ramazan	1st to 30th
10	Shawal	29	Ramazan Id or Id-ul-Fitr	1st or day after new moon is seen
11	Dhul-quada (zul-qua)	30		
12	Dhul-hija (zul-haj)	29 or 30	Bakr-Id or Id-ul-Zuha	10th

* Faiths Fairs and Festivals.

CHAPTER V

MARRIAGE

One of the most urgent problems connected with overseas emigration of Indian Labour was the question of sex proportions To the Indian, as to members of certain other communities, marriage is a sacrament, a legitimate son, ensuring as far as is humanly possible, a succession of male descendants who will offer " pindas " for the respose of the soul throughout two generations is a religious necessity Discontent, moral and religious, is inseparable from conditions which may be stigmatized as evil living by spiritual pastors and masters

A proper understanding of the laws relating to marriage is indispensable to an employer of Indian labour, and in the main portion of this book, when an account is given of each tribe and caste, due attention will be paid to this subject There are, however, certain generalities of interest which may now be stated

The most primitive form of marriage would appear to have been the " communal marriage " which prevailed during the pastoral and nomadic stages of social organisation of which many traces exist to the present day For instance, among the Beriyas, a nomadic and criminal gipsy tribe in the United Provinces, if a member of the tribe *marries* a girl of the tribe, he has to pay a fine to the tribal council, the annexation of the woman by an individual man being regarded as improper Among most Dravidian tribes the intrigues of unmarried girls are very lightly regarded, provided that the lover is a member of the tribe Laxity of morals even among married woman is regarded as venial, unless the paramour belongs to a strange tribe when the penalties inflicted are often severe This tolerance of inter-tribal immorality is an echo of the ancient custom of community of women, the practice of individual marriage has been superimposed on the old structure

The next phase appears to have been the " matriarchal," which survives to-day among the Todas, and among certain Hill tribes including the Khasias of Assam

Inheritance is through females A curiously interesting trace of this period remained among the Pharaohs of Egypt long after the disappearance of the matriarchate The Pharaoh in order to establish his right to the throne beyond all question had to marry his sister There are many traces of this phase among the peoples we shall be discussing later, the most interesting perhaps being the Levirate or marriage with the elder brother's widow It was the practice among the Jews and was the subject of a famous question put to Christ by the Sadducees, who did not believe in the Resurrection They stated the case of the eldest of seven brothers who married a wife and died, the second brother married the widow and also died And so on to the seventh brother The question was whose wife would she be in the Resurrection The Levirate is found among the Mundas and Uraons and allied tribes It should be noted, however, that Mayne denies that the Levirate is a relic of Polyandry Among the Jews (but there is no parallel found in India), the child of a deceased brother's widow is regarded as the son of that brother, and not as the son of the actual father It has been suggested that the practice has arisen out of the religious necessity for sons, which was noticed when discussing Hinduism In the marriage ceremonies, too, of these races, the maternal uncles of the contracting parties usually play the principal part, which is thought by some writers to refer back to the matriarchal epoch There are, in fact, grounds for believing that the knowledge of the fact of paternity was acquired comparatively late in the history of man Frazer tells of an Australian tribe surviving to-day, by whom the physical fact of paternity is not understood, and the same is true of certain Melanesian and African tribes It may be interesting to recall that the Commission of Enquiry into Sex Education which reported some years ago recommended that all children of nine should be taught the fact of maternity, this fact is accepted naturally by English children and little curiosity is displayed as to the function of the father To the matriarchal stage may perhaps be attributed the present day widespread prohibition of marriage between persons born in the same village In most of the peoples we are discussing, "village relationship" extends to all members of the same hamlet, quite irrespective of differences of caste

With the realisation of the physical fact of paternity comes presumably, the transition to the "Patriarchal Stage" which has also left its impress on society to this day Plurality of wives as practised by Moslems and Hindus and several of the aboriginal tribes of India is an obvious example

We must now pass to a consideration of "Exogamy." As Crooke says in his *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces* "No enquiry into the social relations of the Hindus can leave out of account the thorny subject of the origin of Exogamy" "Exogamy is prohibition of marriage between all persons recognised as being of the same blood, because of their common blood" . . . "Endogamy on the other hand allows marriage only between persons who are recognised as being of the same blood, connection or kindred"

The earliest theory, that of Mr McLennan, called attention to traces of marriage by capture, which will be discussed hereafter, such as the mock struggle for the bride and so on which indicate the probability that people at one time were accustomed to obtain their wives by force In primitive nomadic groups girls might well be a source of weakness to the community and female infanticide would become the practice Hence, owing to the scarcity of brides, youths desirous of marrying would be obliged to resort to violence and capture women from other groups This would in time, asserted Mr McLennan, produce the prejudice against marrying women within the tribe Herbert Spencer and Westermarck pointed out that exogamous tribes are mostly polygamous, so that the custom could not have originated from the lack of women, and they raised other objections to the theory Herbert Spencer suggested that exogamy is the result of the constant intertribal war which prevailed in early societies "Women, like other live-stock, would be captured." Hence, to marry a strange woman would be a test of valour and non-possession of a foreign wife a sign of cowardice The ambition thus stimulated would lead to the discontinuance of marriage within the tribe Starcke and Westermarck protested, however, that this would not explain the absolute prohibition against marrying women of the tribe, which has been punishable in some cases with death The

women of a tribe habitually victorious in war would be condemned to enforced celibacy, and in any case a usage based on victory in war could not have been extended to the vanquished

Morgan advocated the theory that exogamy arose from the recognition of the observed evils of intermarriage between near relations, and this suggestion was adopted with some modification by Sir Herbert Risley He pointed out that it is preposterous to suppose that a man in a low stage of culture calmly discusses the question whether his off-spring from a woman of his group are likely to be weaklings, but the adoption of marriages outside the group would, in the end, by the process of *natural selection*, give the group practising it a decided physical advantage "As a result of the survival of the fittest the crossed families would tend more and more to replace the pure families, and would tend at the same time to become more and more exogamic in habits, simply as the result of the cumulative hereditary strengthening of the original instinct "

Exogamy, no doubt, received early magico-religious sanction, and we must pass now to the idea of the "totem," with which it is closely linked We have seen that primitive man, when he became imbued with the idea of "spirit," attributed the possession of a like spirit to all creation Frazer thinks that in the Hunting Stage a species of superstitious respect was paid to wild animals and plants and out of this arose totemism Groups of people began to identify themselves as under the protection of, or as descended from, a particular animal or plant, and gradually the idea of a blood relationship arose Exogamy as the best social rule having impressed itself on the tribe as a whole, was subsequently narrowed down to the sept venerating the same totem, and we find to-day among the Mundas and Oraons, *endogamy* in the tribe, *exogamy* in the sept Similarly among the Hindus, the "gotra" is the modern analogue of "totem" "Gotra" literally means a "cow-pen" and each bears the name of some Rishi or Saint Marriage within the *gotra* is prohibited, marriage within the *caste* being compulsory

There are traces of matrilinear totems, but the patrilinear type is more usually met with A woman on marriage is admitted to

her husband's sept or gotra, though she continues to reverence the totem of the sept in which she was born The marking of a bride with *Sindur* (red lead) is probably a relic of some custom of actual blood-letting in order to bring the bride into the blood relationship which was presumed between members of the same sept Children follow the totem of their father among the Uraons, Mundas and allied tribes

The Mundas have legends to explain how the totem came to be an object of veneration, and we give one of these stories as an example —Followed by a desperate enemy, a sub-tribe of Mundas in flight came to a river in flood The leader prayed for assistance, promising allegiance to whomsoever came to the rescue A huge tortoise appeared, and took the whole tribe over to the safe bank of the river Since that day the descendants of these people have adopted the tortoise as a totem, and call themselves " Horo " or " Kachap " the Mundari words for a tortoise Members of this *kili* will not kill a tortoise, nor eat its flesh

Similar myths exist everywhere to explain the adoption of particular totems

Whatever the origin of the marriage laws may be, the existing rules of marriage are worthy of the closest attention One of the most frequent charges brought against Assam is that " incestuous " marriages are permitted, and mixed marriages arranged on Tea Gardens The problem is full of difficulties For instance, all the Mundas on an Estate may belong to the same *kili*, and the nearest Garden on which there are Mundas may be miles away A Manager is naturally disinclined to permit a buxom maiden, just coming on as a useful plucker, to leave his Garden for another Estate, but it would pay both Estates to arrange suitable marriages in this way, trusting to a levelling up in the numbers by a mutual exchange of brides

The formation of a caste *panchayat* to advise on these and similar matters would be welcomed, and a Manager conversant with their social affairs would soon obtain a controlling voice.

There can be no doubt that fecundity diminishes on Tea Estates, and Medical Officers are inclined to think there is wilful

Mr. Andrew Lang in "Social Origins," reviews the various theories regarding the *totem*. He postulates as an early stage in the history of mankind, the "family" living near and jealously guarding the source of their food supply—the sea shore, lake, river or forest. These communities, he argues, could not have been large, for reasons of commissariat. These groups too were all more or less antagonistic, and were probably of necessity exogamous. Mr. Lang's theory is that when these groups were named by other groups, the names selected had reference to articles of diet habitually consumed by the group or to fancied resemblances to animals. He adduces evidence from England itself that in country places there is a tendency to nick name villagers after articles of diet and we have a well known example in the once-familiar name for the French, *viz* "Frog-eaters." A group would become conscious of this name from the epithets cast at them in their frequent battles and particularly from captured women. Later they would begin to refer to themselves by that name, and subsequently when endeavouring to explain their origin, as most people feel impelled to do, would ascribe a relationship to the animal or plant after which they had been named. Meanwhile exogamy would have become a

* Risley.

habit and the *totem* would tend to be the criterion of marriageability, which, as we shall see in discussing the various tribes dealt with in Part II, is its function at the present day.

As part of marriage ceremonies we frequently find mock marriages, *e g*, Munda girls are first married to a Mohwa tree Probably the belief is that all possible misfortunes in married life are transferred to the tree which acts as a kind of scapegoat

Marriage by service is quite common in many parts of India, the prospective bridegroom serving for a term of years in the house of his future father-in-law, as did Jacob for Rachel. The commonest form is, however, marriage by purchase Among aboriginals, generally speaking, it is the bride who is paid for, among Hindus the bridegroom has his price

Infant Marriage —

The problem of the origin of infant marriage as found in almost all the higher Hindu castes is one which has received much attention Among aboriginal tribes, marriage is adult, but, as will be seen when we are discussing Castes and Tribes, at or just inside the portals of Hinduism whither all tribes appear to be inevitably attracted, there is a tendency to make marriage earlier It is considered more respectable

" The standard Brahmanical explanation of infant marriage is," as Risley points out, " palpably inadequate It represents marriage as a sort of sacrament of which every maiden must partake in order that she may cleanse her own being from the taint of original sin, that she may accomplish the salvation of her father and his ancestors, and that she may bring forth a son to carry on the domestic worship of her husband's family So far as marriage itself goes, all this is intelligible enough as a highly specialised development of certain well-known ancient ideas But it does not touch the question of age Granted that the begetting of a son is essential for the continuance of the *sacra privata,* as Greek and Roman examples teach us, why should the householder, on whom this solemn duty devolves, go out of his way to defer its fulfilment by marrying a girl who has not yet attained the age of child bearing?

The Brahmans reply that the earlier in a girl's life she accomplishes her mystical function, the better But this clearly belongs to the class of *ex post facto* explanations of which sacerdotal and legal literature is in all ages and countries so full "

Mr Nesfield offered an ingenious explanation " In the oldest type of society a woman was exposed to a double evil—the stain of communism within her own clan so long as she remained there, and the risk of forcible abduction into an alien clan, when she became the wife-slave of the man who captured her " Hence infant marriages and the growth of a public opinion in the eyes of which a father is publicly disgraced if he fails to get his daughter married before she has completed the age of twelve Risley points out, however, that courtship of a very modern type was fully recognised in the society depicted in the Rig and Atharva Veda, the consent of the girl's father or brother was sought only after the young people had themselves come to an understanding Risley himself thinks that the rule of hypergamy, *i e*, that a woman must marry into her own or a higher caste has been responsible for the fashion of infant marriage in the highest caste, which has been blindly followed through all grades Women in the highest grade would find the greatest difficulty in obtaining husbands, for men of their class may legitimately take wives from the two lower classes, and there would thus be surplus women in the highest class. Consequently marriages would be arranged and solemnised as early as possible to escape competition

Widow Marriage —

Widows are prohibited from marrying again in the higher Hindu castes, and, as in the case of infant marriage, the custom has found imitators in the lower castes and among proselytized aboriginals The prevalence of the custom in a community is taken as a mark of respectability Risley tells a story of interviewing a large group of Kurmis and on asking what Kurmis they were, elicited the reply from the spokesman of one party " We are Ayodhya Kurmis, we do not allow widows to marry again " Another group of Jeswar Kurmis admitted with considerable reluctance that their widows did re-marry, but were particularly

anxious to explain that they did not allow the widow to marry anyone she chose, but expected her to marry her deceased husband's younger brother Risley says that the whole tone of the discussion made it quite clear that the Jeswars were rather ashamed of themselves and that the Ayodhyas were quite proud of the distinction they had, obviously quite recently, acquired for themselves

" For the ultimate origin of the prohibition of widow marriage among the higher castes, we must look back, far beyond the comparative civilisation of the Vedas, to the really primitive belief that the dead chief or head of the family will need human companionship and service in that other world which savage fancy pictures as a copy of this To this belief is due the practice of burning the widow on the funeral pile of her dead husband, which is referred to as an " ancient custom (*Dharma purana*) in the Athara Veda The directions given in the Rig Veda for placing the widow on the pile with her husband's corpse, and then calling her back to the world of life, appear, as Tylor has pointed out, to represent " a reform and a reaction against a yet more ancient savage rite of widow sacrifice, which they prohibited in fact, but yet kept up in principle " The bow of the warrior and the sacrificial instruments of the priests were thrown back upon the pile to be consumed, the wife, after passing through the mere form of sacrifice, was held to have fulfilled her duties to her husband and was free to marry again " *

The custom of *sati* was, however, revived at a later date and it is difficult to divine the precise motives which induced the Brahmans to sanction a custom of primitive savagery which their ancestors had expressly condemned Sir Henry Maine suggested that the revival was not unconnected with the desire to get rid of the inconvenient lien which the widow held over her husband's property *

The prohibition of widow marriage may, however, have had its origin in the desire to prevent an outsider from exercising a right through his widow-bride to the property of her deceased husband, but at the same time the growth of the doctrine of spiritual

* Risley.

benefit would require a widow to devote her life to the annual performance of her husband's *Sraddh* Technical obstacles to her re-marriage also arise from the Brahmanical theory of marriage itself, the essential portion of which was the gift of the women by her father to her husband, the effect of which was to transfer her from her own to her husband's *gotra* * The bearing of this transfer on the question of her re-marriage is thus stated by an orthodox Hindu in *Papers relating to Infant Marriage and enforced Widowhood* published by the Government of India —

" Her father being thus out of the question, it may be said that she may give herself in marriage But this she cannot do, because she never had anything like disposal of herself When young she was given away, so the ownership over her (if I may be permitted to use the phrase), vested then in her father, was transferred by a solemn religious act to the husband, and he, being no more, there is no one to give her away, and since Hindu marriage must take the form of a religious gift, her marriage becomes impossible "

Risley thinks that the rule of hypergamy is again responsible When it is difficult enough to find a husband, there must be a feeling against a woman being allowed to enter into the competition if she has once drawn a prize! Besides, a *bridegroom-price* has already been once paid for her, religious obligations in respect to her have been fulfilled, so why worry, especially as a higher price would probably be demanded to induce marriage with a widow? Thus again would evolve a fashion of prohibition of widow marriage, the ultimate basis of which, though purely economical, is so exalted by religious sanction as to give birth to the gem of logical reasoning quoted above.

* Risley

CHAPTER VI

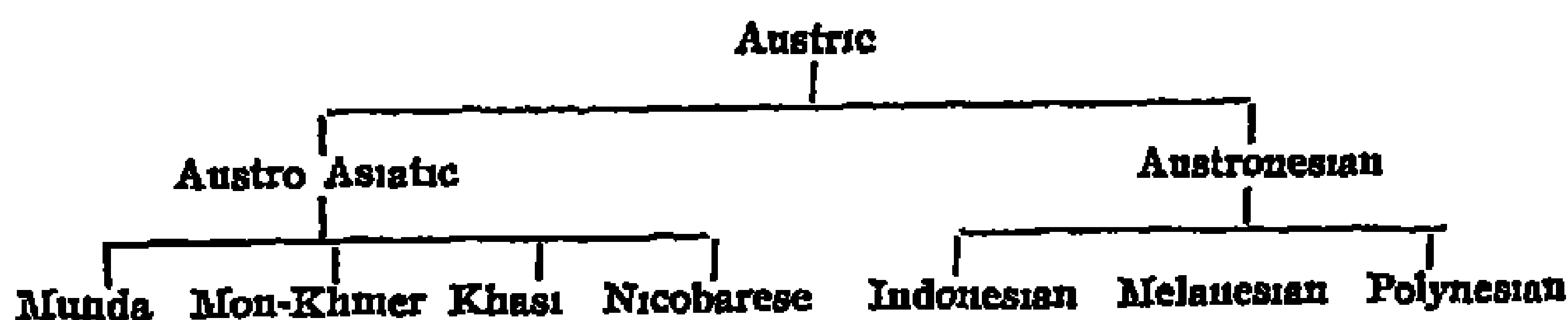
THE RACES OF INDIA AND THEIR PROBABLE ORIGIN

Before proceeding to a detailed account of the various castes and tribes, we propose to give a brief sketch of the races of India, indicating the generally accepted theories of their origin, and outlining the classification which will be followed in the arrangement of Part II.

The earlier generation of ethnologists was struck by the contrasts between the races inhabiting Southern India and the Aryan stock, particularly as regards the broad flat noses of the former which bear a resemblance to the Mongolian type On the North-West Frontier, in the vicinity of Quetta, there exists a people, the Brahui, who, though obviously a race allied to the Iranian, speak a language with distinct *Dravidian* affinities, *Dravidian* being the name assigned to the group of languages which includes Tamil, Telegu, Khond and Oraon On the other hand, towards the North-East Frontier were found the Khasis, speaking a language bearing a strong resemblance to the *Kolarian* group, the term *Kolarian* being applied to the languages spoken by the Mundas, Hos, Santals, Kharias, Savaras, and other tribes of Chota Nagpur Anthropometrically, the peoples speaking Dravidian languages are indistinguishable from those of the Munda type who speak the Kolarian, and these two groups of people were, therefore, classified *ethnologically* as *Dravidian,* which, as Gait points out, is an exceedingly inconvenient term, being employed also to signify a *linguistic* family It was, therefore, assumed that these two races differed only in language and were of Northern origin, with Mongolian affinities and the theory was propounded that the Dravidian speakers had entered India from the *North-West,* leaving an island of Dravidian speech in the fastnesses of Baluchistan and that the Kolarian speakers had come into India from the *North-East,* the Khasis being a remnant who settled in the rocky fastnesses of the Assam Hills

Geologists, however, inform us that the Indian Peninsula was originally entirely separated from Northern Asia by the sea, the Indus and Gangetic valleys being of comparatively recent alluvial

formation Land connection existed, however, on the one side with Africa and on the other with Australasia It was realised that in spite of the flat broad noses, "the Dravidians are not flat faced like the Mongolians, who have remarkably prominent cheek bones, their heads are long, while those of the Mongolians are broad, they are much more hairy, their colour is black, not yellow, their frames are less sturdy and though short, they are not squat, lastly their eyes are full and round and have not the narrow sloping lids which give to the Mongolian eye such a peculiar appearance " * Further, Pater Schmidt had shown that the Kolarian languages are a sub-family of the family called by him the Austro-Asiatic, which includes also Mon-Khmer, Wa, Palanug, Nicobarese, Khasi and the aboriginal languages of Malacca and Australia There is another family which he calls the Austronesian, including Indonesian, Melanesian and Polynesian, these two families are grouped into one great family which he calls the Austric Thus —



Anthropometry also divulged ethnical affinities between the Munda group and many of the other tribes whose languages belong to the Austro-Asiatic family The modern and generally accepted theory of the races of India speaking *Kolarian* languages is that they entered India *via* the South and South-East and are a part of the race which inhabits Australasia, Melanesia and Polynesia

No language having affinities with the Dravidan group has been discovered, Topinard mentions that there are traces of a black, smooth-haired race inhabiting that part of Africa abutting on the island of Madagascar, but apparently their speech does not resemble the Dravidian It is, therefore, assumed that the races speaking the Dravidian languages are the oldest inhabitants of India, and it is certain that they and the tribes whose language has been identified as a family of the Austric language, have been

* Gait

resident in India for countless generations. Gait thinks that the true explanation of the anthropometrical identity of these two groups lies in the facts of intermarriage and similarity of environment over a long period which have removed any racial differences which previously existed Intermarriage took place in the dawn of their history when exogamy first became the practice, women being captured from strange tribes Endogamy in the tribe and exogamy in the totemistic sept was, as has been shown in a previous chapter, a later development

We can, therefore, imagine primitive India peopled by these two races which struggled for possession of the forests of the hilly country whose northern slopes now form the *ghats* of Ranchi, Hazaribagh, Daltonganj, Rohtasgarh and the Satpuras, areas washed by the waves of the sea which divided them from the rest of Asia A vast inland sea, north of Thibet was violently disturbed when the Himalayas were thrown up in some stupendous cataclysm, and the waters, bearing the mud of ages, rushed down through the deep mountain gullies silting up the ocean bed itself and forming the flat alluvial countries of the Indus and Gangetic Valleys and the plains of Mesopotamia, inundations which are still remembered by us in the form of legends of the destruction of the world by flood As the silt dried and assumed the aspect of *terra firma,* the waters being more and more confined to channels which were comparatively permanent, we may picture our two races, still maintaining an internecine struggle, still preserving distinctive languages, but ever intermingling their blood by the capture of women from one another, advancing boldly into these new lands of marvellous fertility, of wonderful security as compared with the forests of their old home where the struggle for existence was accentuated by constant war against terrible beasts of prey

In the course of time appeared from the North-West a new people, a white people, calling themselves by the proud name of *Arya,* with a civilisation against which the black savage could not stand. As the fair-skinned invaders advanced, the more virile of the older people trekked back to their mountain fastnesses, facing the terrors of the jungle rather than be slaves to the new comers Large numbers, however, whose energy had been sapped by the

easy livelihood earned in the fertile well-watered plains, remained to become hewers of wood and drawers of water to the conquerors. The great trek lingers in the memory of these people to-day. Santals and Mundas both claim to have had their origin in the North-West whence they came to their present haunts

We have previously sketched the attitude of the Aryans to the black races they found in Bharata and have indicated that in the course of time they themselves were constrained to intermarriage, Brahmans alone, and few of these perhaps, retaining their blood pure and unsullied The Dravidian speaking races to the South of the hill country of what is now Central India, developed on their own lines, forming mighty kingdoms, *e g* Kalinga, which was destroyed by Asoka in the third century B C

We may now get a " bird's eye view " of our subject matter, which falls naturally into four main groups —

(1) *Dravidian speaking aboriginals,* including the Tamil and Telegu speaking races of Southern India, the Oraons, Khonds, Gonds, and Mal Paharias of the central belt

(2) *Kolarian speaking aboriginals,* including the Mundas, Hos, Santals, Khariyas, Korkus of the Chota Nagpur plateau and the Satpura range

(3) Races of probably pure Aryan origin such as certain Brahman and Rajput Clans

(4) The Sudra castes of the Hindu polity, comprising semi-aboriginal castes such as the Bhuiyas, Kurmis, Musahars, Ghasis, and Dombs The Vaisyas and Kshatriyas of the old organisation for the most part, disappeared

There have, as is well known, been other invasions, notably that of the Greeks under Alexander in the third century B C but they left no real impression on India proper Later the Scythians invaded India and the remnant of the invaders were absorbed into the Hindu social system, the Menas of Rajputana and the Jats of the Punjab being reputed to be their direct descendants

The Mahomedan invasions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries introduced a large infusion of Semitic blood into the country but failed to destroy the Hindu organisation. Boldly accepting the caste system and treating religion as something distinct from and independent of race, large sections of the community were converted and became followers of the Prophet, without losing their social organisation or unity

Mahomedanism, as also in recent times Christianity, has been the sanctuary sought by the most despised, the Jolahar and Momin weaving-classes perhaps being the most notable examples of a wholesale adoption of the faith which was cradled in Mecca

Around the coast we find small communities of strangers whose progenitors arrived by sea, *e g*, the Moplahs who are of Arab descent and have attained considerable notoriety for their fiery zeal and prowess in war. On the North and North-East Frontiers there has been an infiltration of Mongolian tribes, some dwelling within our borders From the point of view of the employer of labour —except in the Darjeeling District—these Mongoloid types are not of much importance; they are useful for casual work such as the clearing of jungle, but will not settle down They are picturesque visitors to the various garden *hats*, however, and an ever present reminder of the " watchers on the threshold " who await the slackening of the British control to re-introduce the good old days of raids on the wealthy villages of the plains.

We must also mention the irruption of the Burmese into Assam, traces of which are familiar to all Tea Planters

In Part II which follows we shall adhere to the classification indicated in the " bird's eye view " sketched in this chapter We do not propose to deal with people not generally found on Tea Gardens, and are accordingly not concerned with the Kacharis, Khasis, Assamese and Nagas, in the heart of whose country British enterprise has brought into being plantations which minister to the wants of the World so far as they relate to the demands for the fragrant beverage produced from the plant certain people are pleased to call *Camelia Thea!* The soil of Assam is too bountiful to permit

of the local inhabitant being attracted to anything but casual work on a Tea Estate Their religious beliefs, their social customs and prejudices are very similar to those of the peoples we describe, and we have no doubt that the Admirable Crichton we have postulated for the perfect Garden Manager, will, when like a variable star, he blazes into glory, attract even the mild Ahom, the fiery Naga, the Cachari and the dauntless Duffla, and will afford some hoary ethnologist a paradise for the study of a thousand types

---

Part II

THE CASTES AND TRIBES.

(a) DRAVIDIAN SPEAKING GROUP

ORAON (*Uraon, Kunokh, Kunrukh n* silent). The name of the tribe is pronounced very commonly by Europeans "O-Rang" The final N is however silent and should merely *nasalise* the final O—the word is to be pronounced with three syllables.

This is the best known Dravidian speaking tribe on Tea Gardens Their principal settlement is in the Ranchi District, but they are found in other Districts as detailed below —

Behar and Orissa	450,000
Bhagalpur Division	20,000
Champaran	9,000
Orissa Division	5,000
Ranchi	287,00c
Palamau	42,000
Orissa Feudatory States	59,000
Sambalpur	4,000
Central Provinces	74,000

As mentioned in Part I, their own traditions are that their original home was in the West of India whence they came to the Kaimur Hills and the Plateau of Rohtas in Shahabad Driven thence by the Mahomedans, one branch turned to the Ranchi plateau, while the other followed the Ganges and settled finally in the Rajmahal Hills They are clearly allied to the Mals of the Rajmahals

There are five sub-tribes, *viz*, Berga-Oraon, Dhanka-Oraon, Kharia-Oraon, Khendro-Oraon and Munda Oraon All are found in the Ranchi District The Munda-Oraons are located to the South and South-east of Ranchi Town, and speak Mundari though they will not intermarry with Mundas They have the regular Oraon burial custom It would appear that when the Oraons first came to the plateau they found the Mundas in possession and gradually displaced them. Mundas are still found in Oraon

villages where they function as priests of the village deities This is really an admission that the Mundas were the original clearers of the soil, as the family of the original clan is supposed to have special powers over the local spirits and godlings The constitution of the village is also similar to that of the Mundari village, there is a hereditary headman, and there are usually their families or " Khunts " holding separate blocks of lands, on a very low rental, but with conditions of service attached The heads of the Khunts are the village officials through whom business is transacted

The tribe is divided into an extremely large number of exogamous septs, all of which appear to be totemistic, the totem being taboo to members of the sept The rule of exogamy in force is the simple one that a man may not marry a woman of his own sept The sept name descends in the male line and there is no objection to a man marrying a woman belonging to the same sept as his mother There are in addition certain other prohibited degrees A man may not marry his first cousin on the maternal side, nor his younger brother's widow, nor his deceased wife's elder sister, though marriage with an elder brother's widow or a deceased wife's younger sister is permissible

Among the mass of the people, marriage is adult, and the freest courtship prevails at dances, festivals and social gatherings of various kinds " Young men woo their sweethearts with offerings of flowers for the hair and presents of grilled field mice, which the Oraons declare to be the most delicate of food " * As is to be expected, there is very considerable pre-marital license connived at by the elders, on the understanding that marriage follows if the girl becomes pregnant

The curious system of village dormitories for bachelors and unmarried girls is common among the Oraons, though it is said now to be dying out In the bachelors' Dhumkuria, as the dormitory is called, discipline is very strict, there being an elaborate system of fagging, the smaller boys waiting on the elders, rubbing their limbs and combing their hair The girls' dormitory is usually in charge of an old woman

* S C Roy *The Oraons*

At marriage a bride-price is paid. The bridegroom with a large party of friends, male and female, proceeds to the house of the bride, the males armed with warlike weapons, and as they approach, are met by a party of the friends of the bride similarly armed, who engage in mimic conflict, which, like a dissolving view, blends pleasantly into a dance. The bride and bridegroom are conducted to a bower constructed in front of the house of the bride's father, and made to stand on a curry stone, under which is placed a sheaf of corn resting on a plough yoke Here they are carefully screened by clothes and the *sindurdan* is accomplished, that is, red lead is ceremoniously applied to each of the contracting parties As previously pointed out, this ceremony is probably a relic of a former rite of actual blood-letting and intermingling On the completion of *sindurdan* the couple are drenched with water, vessels full of water having been placed on the bower and capsized at the psychological moment The couple now retire to change their clothes and on their re-appearance are saluted as man and wife

Polygamy is permitted, though the majority of men content themselves with one wife. Widows may marry again and are subject to no restrictions in selecting their second husbands. Divorce is readily effected at the will of either husband or wife, the consent of the *panchayat* not being required

Religion.—"The religion of the Oraons" says Colonel Dalton "is of a composite order They have no doubt retained some portion of the belief that they brought with them to Chota Nagpur, but coalescing with the Mundas and joining in their festivals and acts of public worship, they have to a certain extent adopted their ideas on religion and blended them with their own There is, however, a material distinction between the religious systems of the two people The Mundas have no symbols and make no representations of their gods; the Oraons have always some visible object of worship, though it may be but a stone or a wooden post, or a lump of earth Like the Mundas, they acknowledge a Supreme Being, adored as Dharmi or Dharmesh, the Holy One, who is manifest in the sun, and they regard Dharmesh as a perfectly pure, beneficent being, who created us, and would, in his goodness and mercy, preserve us, but that his benevolent designs are thwarted by malignant

spirits whom mortals must propitiate, as Dharmesh cannot or does not interfere if the spirit of evil once fastens upon us It is, therefore, of no use to pray to Dharmesh or to offer sacrifices to him, so though acknowledged, recognised and reverenced, he is neglected, whilst the malignant spirits are adored "

The Oraons do not have the idea that their sins are visited upon them, either in this world or the next, it is not because they are wicked that their children or their cattle die, or their crops fail, or they suffer in body, it is only because some malignant demon has a spite against them It can readily be understood then that the spiritual life of an Oraon is made up of the constant propitiation of malevolent spirits They are firm believers in witchcraft, and do the suspected witches to death at every opportunity

The Oraon has taken very readily to Christianity, the doctrine of the one sacrifice having accomplished for all time the propitiation of the powers of darkness, having for them a special appeal We have also described in Part I the Tana Bhagat movement which sought to substitute for propitiation of the spirits, a compulsory bending of these to the human will From the point of view of religion, these people are at an interesting crisis in their history

Festivals —The Oraons and Mundas keep the same festivals, but among the former the Karma is the most important They also keep the *sarhul* festival, when the *Sal* flowers are in bloom The article "*Mundas*" should be consulted in connection with these festivals

The dead are disposed of by cremation, the bones being deposited in the family ancestral burial place ceremoniously some months afterwards, usually in December or January Wherever an Oraon may die, his relations will endeavour, as soon as they can afford it, to take the bones for burial

The Oraons claim to have introduced plough cultivation into Chota Nagpur They are magnificent cultivators, but being simple, are frequently deeply in debt to mahajans

They seldom rise above the rank of labourers or cultivators there are no Oraon zemindars They are exceedingly cheerful

workers, always singing and decking themselves with flowers; compared with them the Mundas are dour

We give a list of the principal totemistic groups, which may be found useful and interesting It cannot be too clearly understood that marriage in the same totemistic sept is forbidden —

Amri,
Bagh,
Bando,
Bar,
Barwa,
Bhakla,
Chigah,
Chirra,
Dhan,
Dhechua,
Dirra,
Ekka,
Ergo,
Gari,
Garwe,
Gidhi,
Gishhi,
Godo,
Golaia,
Induar,
Kachua,
Kaith,
Kana,
Kendi,
Kenu,
Keond,
Kerketa,
Khalkhoa,
Khas,
Khetta,
Khospa,
Lakra,
Lila,
Minji,
Nagbang,
Pusra,
Putri,
Rori,
Runda,
Sarno,
Tirki,
Tiga,
Tirknar,
Tirtia,
Tiru,
Topoar

MALE (*Samaria, Sangi, Sauria Paharia*) —

A non-Aryan tribe of the Rajmahal Hills of the Santal Parganas classed on linguistic grounds as Dravidian Their language —Malta—is said to differ from the languages of the Dravidian family in very essential points, though it contains a very decided Dravidian element

The tribe maintained a virtual independence throughout the period of Musalman ascendancy in Bengal. In 1778 after several

British Military attempts to settle them had failed, they were peacefully settled by Captain Brown who organised police and road petrol work under their own zemindars In 1770 a corps of archers was formed from the tribe and remained in being till after the Mutiny of 1857, being known as the Bhagalpur Hill Rangers

The Males seldom leave their hills for labour, and are still a wild unruly people They live in village communities, under stipendiary headmen or Manjhis, the stipend being paid by Government

Religion —The religion of the Males is animism of the type common among Dravidian tribes There are no priests and no idols, the gods are invoked at all ceremonies, and have power to benefit cultivation and the public health There is a very large number of godlings and devils and evil spirits besides, who require propitiation

Marriage is adult, the only restriction being that between first and second cousins

MAL PAHARIYAS :—

A non-Aryan tribe inhabiting the Ramgarh Hills in the Santal Parganas and parts of the Government Estate known as the Damin-i-Koh (" skirts of the hills ") They are supposed to be the Hinduised section of the Males or Sauria Paharias, their near neighbours, who have been described in the preceding article They, however, deny all relationship to the Male, whom they despise

They are divided into two sub-tribes, the *Mal Paharia* and the Kumar or Komar-Bhag, the latter being the more Hinduised of the two Each sub-tribe is divided into a large number of exogamous septs of the usual totemistic character Apart from the rule of marriage arising out of the totem, the Mal Paharias also observe a table of prohibited degrees in marriage of the ordinary Hindu type Risley says that they have no traditions worth maintaining, except a vague legend that their first parents were born from a cow Curiously enough this is the story told of the ancestor of the wealthy Pachete family in Manbhum.

Marriage, as is to be expected in an aboriginal tribe which is gradually becoming Hinduised, is either infant or adult, the former being considered more respectable. A professional matchmaker (*sithu*) is usually employed by the bridegroom's people to find a suitable bride and after formal inspection, a bride-price is arranged. *Sindurdan* is the binding part of the actual ceremony. Widow marriage is permitted, though the widow is expected to marry her late husband's younger brother. Divorce is allowed on certain grounds with the permission of the caste council.

At the head of the Paharia religion stands the sun, to whom reverential obeisance is made morning and evening and in whose honour goats are sacrificed. *Dharti Mai* (Mother Earth) is held in honour, and *Singhbahini* who rules over tigers, snakes, scorpions and similar noxious beasts. The village Manjhi officiates as priest. There is also a whole school of vaguely defined animistic powers, chief of whom is Chordanu, a malevolent spirit, who must be propitiated at certain intervals with sacrifices and the first fruit of whatever crop is in the ground.

The Hindu gods Kali and Lakhshmi are also honoured. Ancestor worship holds strong sway, and every village has its tutelary deity.

The dead are usually cremated, a piece of bone being preserved to be thrown into a running stream or a deep tank.

The festivals are the usual aboriginal orgies, held on any and every occasion, including the chief Hindu festivals.

The Mal Paharias cultivate by jhuming, and live on the precarious crops thus grown, on jungle roots and the fruits of their hunting. They are for the most part wretchedly poor, but are gradually taking to regular cultivation especially at the foot of the hills. They also cut and sell thatching and *sabai* grass.

They emigrate in small numbers and make useful labourers when treated well.

During the recent Census their numbers were as follows :—

40,000 souls in the Sonthal Parganas.

KONDH :—

(Kandh, Khond, Kui-loka, Kui-enja)—A Dravidian tribe found in some of the Orissa Feudatory States, in the Berhampur Agency Tracts, and in the Khondmahals Sub-division of the Angul District. They numbered 616,824 in the recent Census. The Khondmahals Khonds call themselves *Maliah Khonds,* as distinguished from the *Beniah Khonds* dwelling about Gumsur in Berhampur-Ganjam. The general character of the country where the Khonds are found is wild and mountainous, a confused succession of ranges covered with dense *sal* forests, the villages are scattered and the population sparse. The Khonds are shy and timid, hating contact with the people of the plains. Like many other wild tribes they are in the habit of clearing patches of land by *jhuming,* abandoning their plots after two years of cultivation and clearing other spots by firing the jungle.

The Khonds call themselves *Kui-loka* or *Kui-enja* (*cf Koiter* by which name the Gonds call themselves). Risley thinks the name Khond is derived from the Uriya *Khanda* meaning a sword, which is said to be the totem or distinguishing mark of the tribe. The Uriya Khonds are being gradually weaned to Hinduism, but the very great majority of the tribe still adhere strictly to their original observances. They are of strikingly fine physique, which Risley suggests may be due to their admitting to their community members of other stocks, always however excepting the despised Pans, Domnas and the sweeper Haris. The price paid for admission varies, but is invariably reckoned in buffaloes and strong drink, a great feast is made and the new member is formally inducted into the tribe. As among the Mundas and Oraons of Chota Nagpur, we find among the Khonds menial classes, known here as Kui-lohars, Kui Gonrenju, and Khond-kumhars. In religion, custom and dress they are indistinguishable from the Khonds, but they never intermarry, nor will they eat together. It is possible these people have arisen from the children of women of the Khond tribe and the Hindu artisans who have settled among them.

The custom of exogamy is strictly observed among the Khonds, the tribe being divided into fifty *gochis* or septs, each of which bears the name of a *muta,* or village, instead of the usual totemistic

animal or plant with which we so frequently come in contact in our study of aboriginal tribes In fact this is the best known example of the "local exogamous tribe" The sept traces descent from a single ancestor A Khond may not marry into his own *gochi*, which is transmitted according to the father's side Relationship on the female side does not operate to prohibit marriage, except between first and second cousins

Marriage is usually adult, and women wed men of their own choice, after a regular process of courtship, considerable license is allowed to the young men and maidens of the tribe, and sexual intercourse before marriage is tacitly recognized Infidelity after marriage is said to be rare, but marriages may be dissolved by paying back to the aggrieved husband the cost of his marriage A bride's price is paid, as among the Mundas, widow marriage is allowed, but it is considered right and proper that the widow should marry the younger brother of her deceased husband A go-between, usually of the Pan caste, arranges unions between young people known to be courting, and bargains for the bride-price The actual ceremony is very similar to that obtaining among the Mundas and allied tribes, a mimic display of marriage by capture being enacted The bride's father officiates as priest

The Khonds recognize three principal gods, Dharma Pennu, Saru Pennu and Taru Pennu Dharma Pennu is worshipped at no regular times or seasons, and is appealed to only in the case of illness or at the birth of a first child, he may be best described as the god of the family and of the tribe itself. His priests usually have the power of throwing themselves or feigning to throw themselves into hypnotic trances, and are supposed to be able to cure diseases by touching people, tying them up with bits of thread and similar mummery, as Risley phrases it Saru Pennu is the god of the hills, and is a jealous god, disliking tresspassers on his domain, and the chief object of his worship, which is performed in April and May, is to induce him to protect from the attacks of wild animals those whose business takes them among the forest clad hills, and also to procure a plentiful yield of forest produce

which the Khonds use so largely for food The appropriate offerings are a goat or a fowl with strong drink, which offerings are partaken of by the worshippers Taru Pennu, the earth god, is very vindictive, destroying those who neglect him by ruining their crops, causing them to be attacked by wild beasts, and afflicting them with disease The functions of his priests are hereditary

Much has been written of the human sacrifices prevalent till recently among the Khonds, and Sir James Frazer has an elaborate description of these abominable practices in his *Golden Bough* They were systematically offered to the earth goddess, Taru Pennu, to ensure good crops and immunity from all disease and accidents The victim or *Meriah* was acceptable to the goddess only if he had been purchased or had been born of a victim father or devoted as a child by his father or guardian Khonds in distress often sold their children for victims, "considering the beatification of their souls certain, and their death, for the benefit of mankind, the most honourable possible" The victims were often kept for years before they were sacrificed We need not go into further details of this practice which was suppressed by the British about eighty years ago

As is to be expected, the Khonds are firm believers in witchcraft of the usual aboriginal type They have a system of trial by ordeal of those who are suspected of the black art

The Khonds are keen sportsmen, and show remarkable skill in the use of very primitive weapons Agriculture is their sole pursuit, and none of them have taken to any sort of trade They claim full proprietary rights in the land they have cleared of jungle, though in some cases, there is joint ownership by the *muta* Every village has its headman, the office being hereditary There is besides in each *muta*, a Hindu Superintendent or Bissoya, men who are believed to have been appointed by the Khonds themselves to act as intermediaries between them and the Hindu Rajas of the neighbourhood, they are endowed with grants of lands, and extort a large share of the produce of each field

PAIDI —

These people generally are a class of agricultural labourers and weaver, who are found chiefly in the Vizagapatam district and

Agency Tracts. According to the last Census Report, they number 18,647 males and 18,903 females

The Paidis are closely allied to the Panos and Dombs and speak a corrupted form of Uriya Certain confusion exists regarding this caste for a Paidi may be known as such by the Telegus, yet be recognised as a Domb by the Savaras and acknowledged by the Konds as a Pano It may be therefore that garden managers will be able to find a connection with this caste from amongst any of the other three castes mentioned.

The Paidis vary but little in their customs and mode of living from their Hindu brethren and are by religion Vaishnavas, and pay special reverence to Vishnu in his reincarnate form of Rama, in addition to the usual village deities.

Their domestic ceremonies do not vary materially from those of other castes already described and their marriage rites are after the usual Telegu fashion with occasional variations adopted from the Uriyas. The death ceremonies are distinctly Uriya, for the body is burned and on the day following death, when the funeral pyre is extinguished, the ashes are scattered or thrown on to a tree A *dhoti* is spread over the place where the body was burnt and offerings of food are placed thereon. On the fourth day a pig is killed and a leg hung near the spot where the deceased breathed his last Death pollution is eradicated by means of oil and turmeric and the ceremonies are concluded with a feast One day a year is specially set aside for the worship of ancestors and is usually in November unless a death takes place in the family

ODDE:—

The following account by Mr H A Stuart, in the "Manual of the North Arcot District," gives a brief but interesting review of these people who are also known as Voddars or Wudders — They are "the navvies of the country, quarrying stone, sinking wells, constructing tank bunds and executing other kinds of earth work more rapidly than any other class, so that they have got almost a monopoly of the trade They are Telegu people, who came originally from Orissa, whence their name Were they more temperate, they might be in very good circumstances, but, as soon

as they have earned a small sum, they strike work and have a merry making, in which all get much intoxicated and the carouse continues as long as funds last They are very ignorant, not being able even to calculate how much work they have done, and trusting altogether to their employers' honesty They are an open hearted, good natured lot, with loose morals, and no restrictions regarding food, but they are proud and will only eat in the houses of the higher castes, though most Sudras look down upon them. Polygamy and divorce are freely allowed to men, and women are only restricted from changing partners after they have had eighteen Even this limit is not set to the men "

According to the last Census Report the Oddes number 267,326 males and 269,996 females and the distribution in the districts which offer most promise from the recruiting point of view of the tea industry in North-East India are as follows —

Agency Tracts	3,941	souls	Guntur	30,295	souls
Ganjam	19,933	,,	Nellore	39,299	,,
Vizagapatam	5,349	,,	Bellary	20,437	,,
Godavari	3,028	,,	Cuddapah	24,103	,,
Kistna	24,811	,,			

The Manual of the Nellore district refers to these people as the tank diggers " They sometimes engage in the carrying trade, but beyond this, they only move about from place to place as they have work The word *Vodde* or *Code* is said to be a corruption of the Sanskrit *Odhra*, the name for the country now called Orissa and the people are originally supposed to have emigrated from the Uriya country Besides Telegu, they are said to speak a peculiar dialect among themselves, and if this should turn out to be Uriya, the question might be regarded as settled The laborious occupation of the men tends to develop their muscles "

It must however be understood, that although the traditional occupation of the Oddes is earth work, in the course of time and by reason perhaps of economic pressure, many of them have now taken to the higher calling of agriculture, mainly, it is true, as

daily labourers, the great majority being far too improvident ever to acquire *khet* land of their own

The origin of their occupation can be traced, as in the case of numerous other castes, to an ancient legend which, in effect suggests that in the dim and distant past, the Oddes were compelled to dig a tank in order that the Devatas and men might obtain water After the work was completed, payment for the labour was demanded and, in lieu of money, a few of the sacred ashes of Siva were given to each of the workmen On arrival at their homes, the ashes of Siva turned into money At the sight of this unexpected wealth, they became avaricious and demanded a further return for their services At such an unreasonable request, the God became annoyed and cursed them to the effect that the fruit of their labours should never satisfy their needs Parvati made supplications to Siva on their account with the result that a large sum of money was bestowed upon them which was subsequently placed in a pumpkin and buried in the ground where the Oddes were working They noticed the mound, but not suspecting the contents, decided to leave it untouched as the mark for calculation of the amount of earth dug by them Thus their dishonest efforts met with comparatively scant reward and the curse originally bestowed by Siva was, by their own efforts, consummated

There are many sub-divisions of the Oddes such as Kallu or Rati (stone workers), Mannu (earth workers), Bidaru (wanderers), Bolasi (a title given to people of this tribe in the Ganjam district) The caste titles are Nayakan and Boyan Thurston cites an interesting case in connection with the similarity of the latter word with "Boer" He states that he visited the Oddes soon after the South African War "and they were afraid that I was going to get them transported, to replace the Boers who had been exterminated Being afraid too, of my evil eye, they refused to fire a new kiln of bricks for the new club chambers at Coimbatore, until after I had taken my departure" *

* "Castes and Tribes of Southern India," p 427

Of the exogamous septs, the following examples may be quoted —

Bandollu	(rock)	Sivaratri	(a festival)
Bochchollu	(hair)	Donga	(a thief)
Cheruku	(sugarcane)	Malle	(jasmine)
Santha	(a fair)	Panthipattu	(pig-catcher)

According to a former Census Report, the following are a few of the gotras returned —arashina (turmeric), honna (gold), akshantala (rice grain).

In common with most aboriginal tribes, Odde villagers possess their headmen and assistant officers, who decide all matters of dispute which may not have been settled by the *Panchayat* Decisions which entail corporal punishment are carried out in public, but the use of leather in any form in the administration of such punishment is strictly abhorred Should this rule be violated, the offenders, both passive and active are required to undergo a ceremony of purification and to pay a fine to be decided by the headmen This is clearly a case where the transgressor is doubly at the mercy of the avenging Angel!

Domestic ceremonies amongst the Oddes are closely allied to those of other aboriginal castes At the age of puberty a girl undergoes a process of purification and certain precautions, such as the placing of margosa leaves at the door of her hut, are taken to ward off evil spirits She is not allowed to eat meat until the seventh day when a fowl is killed, boiled, and the flesh finely minced is mixed with various condiments and given to the girl Special precautions are however taken to ensure that the fowl is a black one and has only laid eggs on one occasion

Marriage —Infant and adult marriages both are enacted although the latter is perhaps the more common. The ceremony itself is very simple, the bride and bridegroom being required to walk three times round a stake fixed in the ground Bride prices are invariably fixed and the amount usually finds its way to the coffers of the village grog shop with surprising celerity. On the third day the contracting couple are required to proceed to a tank,

where the bridegroom digs a certain amount of mud, which is carried to some distance in a basket by the bride The actual significance of this ritual is not clear, but is undoubtedly connected with the traditional occupation of the caste, and may incidentally afford a practical analogy with the requirements of the Western marriage ceremony whereby the woman promises to obey the commands of her lord and master ! The following story is related by Thurston (op cit) in connection with the marriage ceremonies " A certain king wanted an Odde to dig a tank, which was subsequently called " Nidimamidi Koththacheruva " and promised to pay him in varahalu (gold coins) When the work was completed, the Odde went to the king for his money, but the king had no measure for measuring out the coins A person was sent to fetch one and on his way, met a shepherd who had on his shoulders a small bamboo stick, which could easily be converted into a measure Taking this stick, he returned to the king, who measured the coins, which fell short of the amount expected by the Oddes, who could not pay the debts which they had contracted So they threw the money into the tank saying " Let the tank leak and the land lie fallow for ever " All were crying on account of their misery and indebtedness A Balija, coming across them, took pity on them and gave half the amount required to discharge their debts After a time they wanted to marry and men were sent to bring the bottu (marriage badge), milk post, musicians, etc But they did not return and the Balija suggested the employment of a pestle for the milk post, a string of black beads for the bottu and betel leaves and areca nuts instead of gold coins for the oli (bride price) " The foregoing, in common with perhaps many stories of a similar nature have been created or handed down to successive generations as an excuse or reason for the present impoverished condition of the caste and incidently affords a ready salve to the conscience of the present generation for squandering the fruits of their toil in liquor and riotous living *Naturam furca expellas, autem usque redibit*

Death Ceremonies—The dead are buried and the corpse is carried to the burial ground wrapped in a new cloth and is borne by four men Before the grave is reached, the corpse is placed on the ground and rice is thrown over the eyes.

After the body has been washed, the *tilak* mark of the Vaishnavas is painted and the sacred ashes smeared on the forehead The procession is then continued until the grave is reached and after the corpse has been lowered, all those assembled fling earth into the hole until the dead body is covered The usual death ceremonies are performed and on the last day the relations of the deceased proceed to a tank somewhere adjacent to the village where an effigy in mud is made to which offerings of rice are made This ritual is, quite probably a reflection of the customs dealt with previously in the chapter on " Primitive man and the emergence of Religion "

In the case of the death of a male, the widow is taken to a tank, when her bangles are broken and water is poured over her head three times through a sieve She then proceeds to her house and is kept in solitude until the following morning At sunrise, she is taken to a temple where she is expected to give three pulls at the tail of the sacred cow When this rite has been performed she is then free to intermingle with the remainder of the tribe and to consider seriously the most eligible male to relieve her of the responsibilities of widowhood

GONDS :—

This is the principal tribe of the Dravidian family and perhaps the most important of the non-Aryan tribes of India

They number in all, 2,902,592 souls of whom 15,000 are found in Assam The Gonds found in Assam are undoubtedly immigrant tea garden labour In the Central Provinces the Gonds occupy two main tracts, *viz*, (i) the Satpura plateau comprising the Chhindwara, Betul, Seoni and Mandla Districts, and (ii) the more inaccessible mass of hill ranges extending south of the Chhattisgarh plain and south west down to the Godavari, including the Bastar and Kanker States and a great part of Chanda Formerly the Central Provinces were known as " *Gondwana* " or the country of the Gonds, where till comparatively recent times, they lived under their own kings

The derivation of the word *Gond* is uncertain it is the Hindu or Muhammadan name for the tribe They call themselves *Koitur* or *Koi* The Gonds speak a Dravidian language of the same family

as Tamil, Canarese and Telegu (*vide* the Chapter on the Races of India in this connection). It is known that Rajput dynasties were ruling in various parts of the Central Provinces from about the sixth to the twelfth centuries, when they disappeared. In the 15th century, Gond kingdoms are found established at Kherla in Betul, Deogarh in Chhindwara, at Garh Mandla, and at Chanda. It seems clear, says Russell, that the Hindu dynasties were subverted by the Gonds after the Muhammadan invasion of Northern India had weakened or destroyed the central power of the Hindus, and prevented any assistance being afforded to the outlying settlements. For two or three centuries the greater part of the Provinces was governed by Gond Kings. Sleeman wrote of this period as follows :—" Under these Gond Rajas the country seems for the most part to have been distributed among feudatory chiefs, bound to attend upon the prince at his capital with a stipulated number of troops, to be employed whenever their services might be required, but to furnish little or no revenue in money. These Chiefs were Gonds and the countries they held for the support of their families and the payment of their troops and retinue were little more than wild jungles. The Gonds seem not to have been at home in open country, and as from the sixteenth century a peaceful penetration of Hindu cultivators into the best lands of the Provinces assumed large dimensions, the Gonds gradually retired to the hill ranges on the border of the plains."

Under the easy, uneventful sway of the Gonds, the rich country over which they ruled prospered and many highly useful public works were constructed. One of these, the Rani Talao, lies close to Jubbulpore—a great reservoir of immense utility. Several substantial forts remain to this day, as for instance, at Mandla and Chanda.

The Gonds have an elaborate story of creation, but it is of no particular ethnological interest. Their great national hero is Lingo who is supposed to have liberated the Gonds who had been confined by Mahadeo in a hill.

" Out of the Gond Tribe," writes Russell " which, as it gave its name to a Province, may be considered as almost a people, a large number of separate castes have naturally developed. Among

them are several occupational castes such as the *Agarias* or iron workers, the Ojhas or soothsayers, Pardhans or priests and minstrels These are principally sprung from the Gonds, though no doubt with an admixture of other low tribes or castes The Parjas of Bastar, now classed as a separate tribe appear to represent the oldest Gond settlers, who were subdued by later immigrants of the race, while the Bhatras and Jhadi Telengas are of mixed descent from Gonds and Hindus Many Hindu castes and also non-Aryan tribes living in contact with the Gonds have a large Gond element, of the former class the Ahirs, Basors, Barhars and Lohars and of the latter the Baigas, Bhunjias and Khairwars are instances "

Among the Gonds proper there are two aristocratic sub-divisions, the *Raj Gonds* and *Khatolas* The former are the land holding class and rank with the Hindu cultivating classes, the latter are suspected of mixed descent and in some parts the ordinary Gond will not intermarry with them

The *Koya Gonds* * live on the borders of the Telegu country and their name is apparently a corruption of *Koi* or *Koitur*, which is the Gond name for their own tribe The *Gaita* are another Chanda sub-caste, Gaite or Gaita meaning Priest The hill Gonds of Chanda are known as *Gattu* or *Gotta* Gonds

Other local groups are being formed such as the *Larhia* or those of Chhattisgarh, the Mandlaha of Mandla, the Lanjhia from Lanji and so on

The Gonds of Bastar are divided into two groups, the *Maria* and the *Muria* The *Maria* are the wilder and apparently named after the *Mad* as the hilly country of Bastar is called The *Murias* live on the plains and are rather more civilised

The Gond rules of exogamy appear to preserve traces of the system found in Australia, by which the tribe is split into two or four main divisions and every man in one or two of them must marry a woman in the other one or two This is considered by

* *Vide* separate article on the KOYIS of the Godaveri District and of Jeypur

Sir J. G. Frazer to be the beginning of exogamy, by which marriage was prohibited, first between brothers and sisters, and then between parents and children, by the arrangement of these main divisions.

There is also, however, a sub-division into small exogamous septs. Russell says that in Bastar the septs of the Maria Gonds are divided into two great classes, there are ninety septs in A class and sixty-nine in B class. All the men of A class say they are Bhaiband or Dadabhai to one another. No man of a sept in class A may marry a woman of a sept in class A, but must marry a woman of class B. In effect, therefore, the smaller septs are merely family names and there are really only two exogamous septs.

The Muria Gonds have several large exogamous clans named after animals in *Hindi*. In Chanda a classification according to the number of Gods worshipped is found, and the same classification exists in Chhindwara and Mandla. Many of the septs are, however, clearly totemistic. The word for these exogamous divisions is "*Gatta*" and employers of Gond labour might obtain interesting information on the subject from Gonds of their Estates.

When a man may not marry in his own sept a girl having the same totem, or worshipping the same number of gods, marriage customs may naturally be expected to be somewhat complicated. Curiously enough a match between a brother's daughter and a sister's son used to be quite common, as also the marriage of a brother's son to a sister's daughter. In Bastar a man may marry his daughter's daughter, or his maternal grandfather's sister. He may not marry his son's daughter as she belongs to the same sept as himself.

The most distinctive feature of a Gond marriage is that the procession usually starts from the bride's house and the wedding is held at that of the bridegroom, in contradistinction to the Hindu practice. Apparently no regular marriage ceremony is performed. The parties acquiesce in public to the union and then join in the general bacchanalian orgie. Hindu customs are, however, creeping in: the custom of smearing with powdered turmeric and water is gradually being adopted as an essential of the ceremony. There

are also survivals of marriage by capture, especially in Bastar, where a youth and his friends will frequently carry off a girl If a boy cannot afford to pay the expenses of a marriage, he may serve for his wife as Jacob did for Rachel, the usual period being from three to six years

Widow re-marriage is permitted and a widow is expected to marry her deceased husband's *younger* brother, but she may not marry his elder brother

Divorce is allowed on the usual grounds but may also be obtained on the grounds of the possession of a quarrelsome disposition and carelessness in the management of household affairs

The dead are usually buried with the feet pointing to the North, but the Marias bury with the feet towards the setting sun Cremation is being gradually introduced which may be ascribed to Hindu influence In Bastar memorial stones are set up to the memory of deceased relatives, the practice being similar to that of the Oraons The Gonds believe that the spirits of ancestors are re-incarnated in children or in animals There is a ceremony for bringing back the soul, which is housed, in the form of an insect or a fish caught in the river after incantations in a miniature grass hut in the compound These souls have to be propitiated especially if the original owner was a bad man or was eaten by a tiger! They have no idea of a future life

The religious practices of the Gonds present much variety The worship of ancestors is, generally speaking, an integral part of their religion, and the "great god" of most localities is called *Bura Deo* The other gods appear to be principally implements and weapons of the chase, one or two animals and deified human beings, presiding over the village destinies, the crops and epidemic diseases Narayan Deo, or the Sun, is a household deity, and has a little platform inside the threshold of the house He may be worshipped every two or three years, but if a snake appears in the house or any one falls ill, they think that Narayan Deo is impatient and perform his worship

As is to be expected, the belief in witchcraft among the Gonds is very strong Disease is supposed to be due to the machinations

of human familiars of evil spirits as among the Mundas and Oraons. The Gonds used formerly to offer human sacrifices to the goddess Kali and to Dánteshwari, the tutelary deity of Bastar, these have, of course, been stopped

Festivals —The original Gond festivals were associated with the first eating of the new crops and fruits The Holi festival in spring at the end of the Hindu year is the most popular nowadays. In the western districts of the Central Provinces, the Meghnath Swinging rite is performed, men and women being swung round a pole The Karma festival in August which the Oraons regard as most important is also celebrated by the Gonds

The women tatoo themselves very elaborately, as a means, it is thought, of warding off evil spirits, the men brand themselves on the joints of the wrists, elbows and knees in order to gain suppleness Excessive drinking is the common vice of the Gonds, liquor being indispensable at all ceremonial feasts and a purifying quality being attributed to it In this respect they are similar to the Mundas and Oraons The Oraon practice of maintaining separate dormitories for the unmarried men and girls of a village also obtains among the Gonds Dancing and singing constitute the principal social amusement and the Gonds are passionately fond of both The Marias dance in wonderful costumes, men and women together, in a great circle, keeping perfect time, but only unmarried girls may join in the dance

The Gonds are mainly engaged in agriculture, and the great bulk of them are farm servants and labourers In the wilder tracts the method of cultivation is by jhuming They also hunt and fish, and trap animals. As the figures quoted at the head of this article indicate, large numbers have emigrated to Assam in the past and they are still going forward in considerable numbers They make excellent labour and easily acclimatise

KOYI (*vide* article on Gonds) (*Koya, Koi*)

This is a tribe inhabiting the hills in the North of the Godavari District and are also found in the Malkangiri Taluk of the Jeypur Zemindari of the Madras Agency Tracts They belong to the great Gond family, but resent being called " Gondia." There is also

a sub-caste of the Gonds called Koi-Gond found in Bastar The Gonds call themselves in their own language *Koitur* or *Koi*

The tribe is divided into exogamous septs (*gattas*) of apparently totemistic origin It is said that members of the various Gattas may be recognised by the different marks they wear on their foreheads They are engaged in primitive agriculture, and are miserably poor They are much addicted to drink Recently, they have been emigrating to Assam in fairly large numbers as they are terribly victimised by money lenders and petty zemindars They make useful labourers Their religion, festivals and marriage customs are similar to those of the Maria Gonds described in the article on Gonds They are animists of a very crude type, full of superstitious fancies, disease and death being invariably attributed to witchcraft

The Koyis numbered 73,000 during the recent Census

KAPU :—

The Kapus or Reddis are by far the most numerous tribe in Vizagapatam and the adjacent districts They are found in large numbers in the Madras Deccan Districts and totalled at the recent Census 2,630,000 They are the great cultivating caste of the community and the word Kapu is sometimes used in the sense of Ryot The Velamas, Telegas, Nagaralu, Aiyarakulu and Bagatas are all reported in the District gazetteer to be offshoots or branches of the Kapus The more civilized sections of the Gadabas and Savaras are called Kapu Gadabas and Kapu Savaras also, though they have really no connection with the caste proper The Kapus are divided into several endogamous sub-divisions, the most important being the Panta and Gazula The former inhabit the coast taluks and the latter reside inland The Gazula Kapus shew signs of totemism, and in this respect they differ from the Panta Kapus The tiger and cobra are totems of certain septs but the primal function of totemism appears now to be neglected and the septs are no longer exogamous It is unnecessary here to trace the origin of the tribe, but there appears to be little doubt that they were at one time a very powerful race and certain records refer to them as a ruling power previous to the conquering of Tanjore by the Chola Kings towards the end of the ninth century

Their early history appears however to be somewhat obscure, and authorities differ as to their origin, which was probably Dravidian.

Marriage —The marriage ceremony differs but slightly from that of the other castes of this district and it is unnecessary here to describe it in detail One curious custom of the Tinnevelly Reddis is however related by Dr J Shortt A young woman of sixteen or twenty years of age is frequently married to a boy of five or six years, or even of a moretender age After the marriage she lives with some other man, a near relative on the maternal side, frequently an uncle, and sometimes with the boy-husband's own father The progeny so begotten are affiliated on the boy-husband When he comes of age he finds his wife an oldish woman and perhaps past child bearing So he, in his turn, contracts a union with some other boy's wife and procreates children

A Reddi widow or divorcee may not re-marry, though this is allowed by the Pakanadus of Pattikonda and Ramallakota Taluks These may wear no signs of marriage and the progeny inherit their father's property equally with children born in regular wedlock

The news of a death among the Kapus is carried by a sweeper The dead man's son receives a measure containing a light from the barber, and goes three times round the corpse At the burning ground (the dead are invariably burned) the barber goes three times round the corpse, carrying a pot containing water and followed by the son, who makes holes in the pot The stream of water thus released trickles over the corpse The barber then breaks the pot into very small fragments If the fragments were large, water might collect in them, and be drunk by small birds, which could bring sickness on children over whose heads they might pass

On the day after the funeral " puja " is performed, a plant of the *Leucas Aspera* variety is placed on the ashes, the bones are collected in a new pot and thrown into the river

Agricultural Ceremonies —On the first full moon day in the month of Bhadra-pada (September) the agricultural population celebrate a feast to appease the Rain God. The women

go round the village with baskets on their heads, *containing* Margosa leaves, flowers of different kinds and holy ashes They beg alms in return for which they give some of the contents of the baskets The Kapus take these to the fields and prepare cholam gruel which they sprinkle round their fields A figure of a human being is then made of ashes from the potters kiln, and this is called "Jokumara" or Rain God It is supposed to have the power of bringing down rain at the proper time

PARJAH :—(Contributed by Mr J Buchanan)

This tribe is a comparatively small one and was originally an offshoot from the Gonds They reside principally in the Zamindari of Jeypore in the Madras Presidency and in the Central Provinces In Madras they number about 92,000 and about 13,000 in the Central Provinces

There is a certain amount of confusion as to the name of this tribe, but it appears that it is derived from the Sanskrit *Parja*, "a subject," and it is understood as such by the people themselves, who use it in contradistinction to the free hillmen The name, however, appears to have become generally accepted in distinguishing this caste and the original meaning of the name, though doubtless correct, appears to have merely an historical or traditional value The people are akin to the Khonds of the Ganjam Maliahs and are of a thrifty and hardworking disposition of the cultivating type

In their own country they are recognised authorities on land matters and when a dispute occurs about the boundaries of fields possessed by recent arrivasl, a Parja is usually called in to point out ancient land marks The tribe appears to have resided originally in the Madras Presidency and migrated from there to the Central Provinces In support of this theory one of their own traditions may be quoted It is to the effect that one of their ancestors was the elder brother of the first Raja of Bastar when he lived in Madras to the south of Warangla Thence he had to flee on account of an invasion of Mahammedans, and was accompanied by the Goddess Danteshwari, the tutelary deity of the Rajas of Bastar In accordance with the command of the

Goddess the younger brother was considered as the Raja and rode on a horse, while the elder carried the baggage At Bhadrachallan they met the Bhatras and further on the Holbas The Goddess followed them, guiding their steps, but she strictly enjoined the Raja not to look behind so as to see her When, however, they came to the sands of Sankami and Dankani, the tinkle of the anklets of the Goddess could not be heard for the sand The Raja therefore looked behind him to see if she was following, on which she told him she could go no further with him, but he was to march as far as he could, and settle down The two brothers settled at length in Bastar, where the descendants of the younger became the ruling clan and those of the elder were their servants, the Parjas

This story seems to indicate that the Parjas were the original Gond inhabitants of the country and were supplanted by a later immigration of the same tribe who reduced them to subjection and became Raj Gonds The Parjas still refer to the Rani of Bastar as their "Bohu" or younger brother's wife and the custom is probably based on the foregoing legend

The tribe have exogamous totemistic septs, as *bagh* a tiger, *kachim* a tortoise, *bokda* a goat, *netam* a dog, etc If a man kills accidentally the animal after which his particular sept is named, the earthen cooking pots are thrown away, the clothes are washed and the house is purified with water in which the bark of the mango or jamun tree (eugenia jambolana) has been steeped This is in sign of mourning as it is thought that such an act is sure to bring misfortune

Marriage is prohibited between members of the same sept As however the number of septs is rather small the rule is not now adhered to and members of the same sept are permitted to marry so long as they do not live in the same village The proposal of marriage is made by the boy's father, who first offers a cup of liquor to the girl's father in the bazar and subsequently explains his wishes If the girl's father disapproves of the match he returns an equal quantity of liquor to the boy's father on some other occasion, thus indicating his decision. The girl is usually consulted but little heed is paid to her wishes. In the event of a girl becoming pregnant before

marriage, the man is required to take her, giving the family the presents customary in the case of a marriage The man may, if he wishes, subsequently marry some other woman, but the girl may not marry at all It is essential for a man to be married at least once, and an old bachelor will sometimes go through the form of marriage with his maternal uncle's daughter, even though she be an infant The bridegroom's marriage expenses usually amount to some Rs 50 and the bride's to about Rs 10 The dancing at these weddings is of rather a curious character It is called " surch " and the men wear a particular dress consisting of a long coat, a turban and two or three scarves thrown loosely over the shoulders, which with bells on their feet, and beads round their necks, complete the ceremonial dress Music is provided by bamboo flutes, drums and an iron instrument resembling a flute and they sing as they dance, in a form of question and answer between the lines of men and women—usually of a somewhat indecent character The marriage takes place at the boy's house and it is a peculiar custom that the bride on going to the bridegroom's house to be married is accompanied only by her female relations—no man of her family being allowed to be with her This is probably a reminiscence of the old custom of marriage by capture, as in former times she would have been carried off by force, the men of her family having been quelled Widows may re-marry and a widow is practically compelled to marry her late husband's younger brother if he has one If she refuses, her parents turn her out of their house A man may divorce his wife if she is of bad character, or if she is supposed to be under an unfavourable star, or if her children die in infancy A divorced woman has the same rights as a widow, as regards re-marriage

In the Barang Jhedia, Pengu and Khond Divisions, it is customary for a man to marry his paternal aunt's daughter, but he cannot claim her as a matter of right, for the principle of free love is recognised amongst them The Dhangada and Dhangadi basa system, by which bachelors and unmarried girls sleep in separate parts of a village, is in force amongst the Parjas

When a marriage is contemplated among these septs the young man's parents present the girl's parents with the usual presents

of liquor and rice, the following year the proposal is renewed and more presents of rice, a cloth and liquor are made and in addition a sum of money varying from ten to fifty rupees A ceremony takes place which consists of the suspending of a gourd between two poles, which is cut down with an axe as the contracting party comes before the bridegroom's house The bride is presented with a new cloth by the bridegroom's parents as she enters the house The subsequent proceedings consist of feasting and drinking, and a dance in which both males and females take part is kept up till late at night A feast is held on the following day and towards mid-day the bride is formally made over to the bridegroom in the presence of the Janni and Mudile (caste elders)

In one form of marriage among the Bandas, a young man and a maid retire to the jungle where they light a fire The maid then takes a burning stick and applies it to the amorous young man's gluteal region If he cries out he is unworthy of her and she remains a maid If he does not, the marriage is at once consummated The application of the brand is probably light or severe according to the girl's feelings for the young man Another version has it that the girl goes off to the jungle with several men and the scene has been described as being like the figure in a cotillion, as they come up to be switched with the brand Another account of this caste states that a number of youths, candidates for matrimony, start off for a village where they hope to find a corresponding number of young women They make their wishes known to the elders, who receive them with all due ceremony and the youths are then introduced into an underground chamber, together with a corresponding number of young girls, and in the darkness there, they have to grope about and make their selection, after which they ascend, each holding the girl he has selected by the fore-finger of one of her hands Bracelets are put on her arms by the elders of the community and two of the young men stand as sponsors for each bridegroom The couples are led to their respective parents who approve and give their consent The bridegroom then takes his bride home and she lives with him for a week At the end of this period she returns to her parents and is not allowed to see her husband for a year, when she is finally made over to him.

Religion and Festivals.—The Parjas worship the same class of divinities of the hills and forests as are usually reverenced by primitive tribes, as well as Danteshwari, the tutelary Goddess of Bastar. A few members of the tribe belong to the Ramanandi sect, and on this account some extra attention is paid to them. Most villages have a man who is possessed by the deity and his advice is taken in religious matters such as the detection of witches. Another important person is the Nedha Ghuntia or counter of posts. He appoints the days for weddings, and also fixes auspicious days for the construction of a house or for the commencement of sowing. When rain is wanted, the people fix a piece of wood in the ground, calling it Bhimsen Deo or King of Clouds. They pour water over it and pray to it, asking for rain.

Every year, after the crops are harvested, they worship the rivers or streams in the village. A snake, a jackal or a hare, or a dog wagging its ears, are unlucky objects to see when starting on a journey, as also is a dust devil blowing along in front. Wednesday and Thursday are lucky days for starting a journey and the operations of sowing, reaping and threshing should be commenced and completed on one of these days. When a man intends to build a house, he places on the ground a number of groups of three grains of rice, one resting on the other two. Each set is covered by a leaf cup with some earth to hold it down. Next morning these are inspected and if the top one has fallen down the site is considered to be lucky, as indicating that the earth is wishful to bear the burden of a house in this place. A house should face east and west and not north and south. Similarly the village roads should run east and west from the starting point.

The principal festivals are the Hareli or feast of the new vegetation in July. The Nawakhani, or feast of the new rice crop in August or September and the Am-Nawakhani or new Mango crop in April or May.

The dead are invariably buried. The corpse being laid in the ground with the head to the east and feet to the west, the reason of this being that among these primitive people the idea exists that the place of the dead is in the west, and a person buried in the

manner described is ready to start on his journey. Rice gruel, water, and a tooth stick are placed on the grave nightly for some time after death After the burial a dead fish is brought on a leaf plate to the mourners, who touch it and are partly purified The meaning of this rite, if there be any, is not known The period of mourning varies from three to nine days, and after it is over the mourners and relatives must attend the next weekly bazaar and there offer liquor and sweets in the name of the dead, who then becomes an ancestor

The Parjas are of the Munda stock, and are a sturdy, independent, happy and contented race They cannot be mistaken, as the mongoloid caste of countenance is very pronounced The face is flat and an obliquity of eye is traceable, the hair on the face is scanty and the stature short and stocky Of this tribe the Banda Parjas are the most primitive If the generally accepted theory of the advance of these peoples from the north is correct, they must have been the farthest and most southerly outpost of the stock. They live on and below the range of ghats which divides the 3,000 feet plateau from Malkongiri Taluk—that is, on the edge of the Koi country, and it is a most remote and lonely tract of country There is a tabu among the Bonda Parjas, which prevents the women clothing themselves above the waist The loin cloth is extremely scanty and in the case of fully developed women it does not meet round the waist The curious part of this custom is that the tabu does not extend indoors, and if a Parja woman clothes herself while indoors, she must disrobe again before appearing outside The legend which accounts for this extraordinary custom, runs to the effect that when Sita the wife of Rama was bathing in a river, she was seen by women of this tribe, who laughed at and mocked her Thereon she cursed them and ordained that in future all women should shave their heads and wear no clothing except a small covering for decency's sake The shaving of the women's heads is carried out by a knife lent by the village blacksmith.

Mr G A Grierson in the linguistic survey of India, Part IV, of 1906, states that the Parji language has hitherto been considered as identical with Bhatri Bhatri has now become a form of Uriya. Parji, on the other hand, is still a dialect of Gondi.

The Bhatras are a tribe inhabiting the State of Bastar in the Central Provinces

The Parjas are a conglomerate caste made up of several endogamous sections and speak a language which varies according to the locality These sections are divided up in the following manner —

(1) Barang Jhodia, who eat beef and speak Uriya

(2) Pengu Parja, sub-divided into those who eat the flesh of the buffalo and those who do not Their language closely resembles that of the Khonds

(3) Khondi or Khondi Parja, are a section of the Khonds they eat beef and the flesh of the buffaloes and speak Kodu and Kondh

(4) Parengi Parja, a section of the Gadaba They are sub-divided into those who eat and do not eat the flesh of buffaloes, and they speak the Gadaba dialect

(5) Bonda, Bunda or Nanga Parja, who are likewise a section of Gadabas, calling themselves Bonda Gadaba and speak a dialect of Gadaba

(6) Tagara Parja, who are a section of the Koyas and speak Koya or in some parts Telegu

(7) Dur Parja or Didayi Parja, who speak Uriya

Among the Barang Jhodias, the gidda (vulture), bagh (tiger) and nag (cobra) are regarded as totems

Among the Pengu, Kondhi and Dur divisions, the two last are apparently regarded as totems, and in addition to them the Bonda Parjas have Mandi (cow)

AGAMUDAIYAN —

This is a cultivating caste, found in all the Tamil districts Though less numerous now than they were some thirty years ago they are still found in fairly large numbers in the districts of Chingleput, North Arcot, Salem, Coimbatore and Trichinopoly

It is considered possible that these people are the descendants of the first immigrants from the Madura district, who after long settlement in the North, severed all connections with their Southern brethren In some districts Agamudaiyan occurs as a synonyn of Vellalas, Pallis and Melakkarans, who consider this caste name as superior to their own With regard to the connection which is reported to exist between these people and the Maravans and Kallans the following version of a legend is related *

The father of Ahalya decided to give her in marriage to one who remained submerged under water for a thousand years—longevity was apparently commoner in those days than now—Indra managed to remain submerged for 500 years, but Gautama succeeded in his effort and won the damsel Indra, consumed with jealousy after his futile effort and possibly feeling the effects of his five hundred years' abstention from the fruits of the earth, determined to seduce her and assuming the disguise of a cock went at night to the abode of Gautama and crowed Gautama, thinking it was nearing dawn, rose and went to a river to bathe While he was away Indra joyfully assumed his natural form and accomplished his desire Two children were born, when Ahalya is said to have discovered the deception These children are believed to have been the ancestors of the Maravans and Kallans Later a third child was born from whom the Agamudaiyans are descended The latter are said to have been greatly influenced by Brahmanism They engage Brahman Priests by whom they perform all their birth, marriage and death ceremonies At the census of 1891 the following were returned as the more important sub-divisions of the Agamudaiyans —Aivali Nattan, Kottaipattu, Malainadu, Nattumangalam, Rajaboja, Rajakulam, Rajavasal, Kallan, Maravan, Tuluvan and Servaikkaran The name Rajavasal denotes those who are servants of Rajas and has been transformed into Rajavamsa meaning kingly parentage Kottaipattu means those of the fort and the Agmudaiyans believe that the so-called Kotai Vellalas of Tinnevelly are really Kottapattu Agamudaiyans

One sub-division is called Sani (Cow dung) Unlike the Maravans and Kallans the Agamudaiyans have no exogamous septs or kilais

* Castes and Tribes of Southern India

The marriage ceremony in vogue among the poorer sections of this caste is very simple The sister of the bridegroom proceeds to the home of the bride on an auspicious day, followed by a few females, carrying a woman's cloth, a few jewels, flowers, etc The bride is seated close to a wall, facing East She is dressed in a cloth which has been brought, and seated on a plank Betel leaves, areca nuts and flowers are presented to her by the bridegroom's sister and she puts them on her lap A turmeric-dyed string or garland is then placed round her neck by the bridegroom's sister, while the conch shell or musical instrument is blown On the same day the bride is taken to the bridegroom's house where a feast is held Among the more prosperous members of the tribe the custom is somewhat different, but description here is not necessary as these richer members of the tribe seldom emigrate

The dead are either buried or cremated The corpse is carried to the burial or burning ground on a bier or palanquin On the second or third day after death the son and others go to the spot and offer food to the deceased and a pot of water is left at the spot Those who are particular about performing the death ceremonies on an elaborate scale offer cooked food to the soul of the dead until the fifteenth day, and carry out the final death ceremonies (karmandhiram) on the sixteenth day Presents are then given to Brahmans, and after the death pollution has been removed by sprinkling with holy water, (punyaham) a feast is given to the relatives

Among this caste various minor deities are worshipped, such as Aiyanar, Pidari and Karupannaswami

YANADIA —

The Yanadis are a wild Dravidian tribe found in the Telugu country Their origin as also their traditional occupation is somewhat obscure although they themselves assert that they were the original inhabitants of the jungle in the vicinity of the Pulicat lake

According to the last Census Report, they numbered 70,[illegible] males and 68,198 females Their distribution is as follows —

Agency Tracts	2,565	males	3,211	females
Ganjam	1,601	"	[illegible]	"
Kistna	[illegible]	"	[illegible]	"
Guntur	9,027	"	8,837	"
Nellore	40,465	"	38,351	"
Cuddapah	2,251	"	2,173	"

The following legend relating to the Yanadis noted by Mackenzie is quoted from Thurston " Of old, one named Raghava brought with him sixty families from Pancanatti district, locating himself with them at Sriharicotta, and, clearing the country, formed Raghavapuram. The people by degrees spread themselves through a few adjoining districts A *rishi*, who came from Benares, and was named Ambikeswarer, resided in Mad'hyaranya (or the central wilderness) and there, daily bathing in a river, paid homage to Siva. These wild people of their own accord daily brought him fruits and edibles, putting them before him At length he enquired of them the reason They replied that their country was infested by a terrible serpent and they wished to be taught the charms to destroy it, as well as the charms for other needful purposes He taught them and then vanished away "

Their religion is of an animistic nature and the methods of producing fire is as primitive as their manner of hunting and fishing

As will be seen from the table of distribution given above, the Yanadis are found chiefly in the Nellore district, their headquarters being on the island of Sriharicotta

Many are the sub-divisions of the Yanadis, the two chief being the Chenchus and the Manchis Others are the Reddi Yanadis, the Challa Adavis and Kappala The following are some of the sub-castes and exogamous septs —Bandi (cart), Chembetti (hammer), Igala (house fly), Kathilula (sword), Mekala (goat), Pamula (snake), Totla (garden), Jandayi (flag), Elugu (bear), etc The names of these septs also constitute house names by which the Yanadis are known

As already indicated, their religion is, for the most part, animistic but they have their own particular village deities and are gradually beginning to worship the gods of their more civilised neighbours Images of gods may now be seen on the walls of their dwellings rudely drawn in in various colours Several sects of the Yanadis have now embraced Hinduism in its entity and both Vaishnavas and Saivites can be counted amongst them

The marriage ceremony is not considered a necessity in all cases although the Reddi Yanadis are very particular in this

respect It is not customary for the parents to arrange suitable matches, the parties concerned being allowed full discretion in the matter Seduction is by no means uncommon and divorce is easily arranged Widow re-marriage carries with it a certain status and such a person has been known to have had as many as seven husbands The greater the number, the greater the respect and should any question of adultery be under dispute such a woman carries great weight If a wedding is arranged, the village priest is consulted as to the most auspicious hour for the ceremony and the noon hour is invariably selected The marriage booth is set in place and the usual rites are observed Feasting and the giving of presents is the order of the day and the significance of the moral tie is overshadowed by the opportunity for indulgence in excessive eating and drinking

The dead are usually buried by the Yanadis The corpse is laid in front of the deceased's house and washed After rice has been thrown on the body it is placed on a bier and carried to the burial ground by the sons of the dead man In close proximity to the grave, a cross is drawn on the ground to represent the four cardinal points of the compass Betel leaves, nuts and a copper coin are then placed by the side of the body The mourners place the body in the grave with the face downwards whilst three handfuls of earth are thrown over by the sons of the deceased, the grave is then filled in and the mourners proceed to the village where they undergo a process of purification This ceremony takes the form of bathing and the breaking of water *chatties* filled with water in front of the dead man's house Like ceremonies are performed on the third and sixteenth day after death and on the last occasion, an effigy is made in clay to represent the deceased which is duly annointed by the relatives The effigy is carried to the edge of a tank where food in the shape of four balls of rice are offered to it together with betel leaves and money After due ceremony, the model is slowly pushed into the water where it becomes disintegrated The distribution of cheroots and drink mark the conclusion of the ceremony and on their return to the village, they indulge in music and dancing for the next twenty-four hours

In conclusion, we would give the following note prepared by Thurston in the Castes and Tribes of Southern India. "To sum

up the Yanadis. It is notorious that, in times of scarcity, he avoids the famine relief works, for the simple reason that he does not feel free on them Nevertheless, a few are in police service Some of them are kavalgars (watchmen), farm labourers, scavengers, stone-masons or bricklayers, others are pounders of rice, or domestic servants and are as a rule faithful They earn a livelihood also in subsidiary ways, by hunting, fishing, cobra-charming, collecting honey or fuel, rearing and selling pigs, practicing medicine as quacks and by thieving " " An iron implement," Mr F S Mullaly writes,* " called the *sikkaloo kol,* is kept by them ostensibly for the purpose of digging roots, but it is really their jemmy and used in the commission of burglary It is an ordinary iron tool, pointed at both ends, one end being fitted in a wooden handle With this they can dig through a wall noiselessly and quickly and many houses are thus broken into in one night, until a good loot is obtained House breakings are usually committed in the first quarter of the moon Yanadis confess their own crimes readily but will never implicate accomplices Women are useful in the disposal of stolen property. At dusk they go round on their begging tours selling mats, and take the opportunity of dropping a word to the women of cheap things for sale and the temptation is seldom resisted Stolen property is also carried in their marketing baskets to the village grocer, the Komati Among the wild (Adavi) Yanadis, women are told off to acquire information while begging, but they chiefly rely on the liquor-shopkeepers for news, which may be turned to useful account "

BHUMIA :—

The Bhumias are a small Oriya caste of cultivators found in the Jeypore district They allege that they were the first to cultivate the land in the hills and that their caste title was accorded them because they were called in as arbitrators in all matters of land disputes

Thurston writing of these people states that " the Bhumias have septs, *e g*, bhag (tiger) and naga (cobra) A man can claim his paternal aunt's daughter in marriage The wedding ceremony

* Notes on Criminal Classes of the Madras Presidency

is much the same as among the Bottadas The jholla tonk (presents) consist of liquor, rice, a sheep or fowl and cloths for the parents of the bride A pandal (booth) made of poles of the sorghu tree, is erected in front of the bridegroom's house and a Desari officiates The remarriage of widows is permitted and a younger brother usually marries his elder brother's widow If a man divorces his wife, it is customary for him to give her a rupee and a new cloth in compensation The dead are burned and pollution lasts for nine days On the tenth day a ceremonial bath is taken and a feast, with copious supplies of liquor, is held " *

RONA :—

The Ronas are a small caste of landowners and Oriya speaking hill cultivators of whom it was noted in a previous Census Report that they " hold a position superior in the social scale to the Parjas (Porojas), from whom, by compulsion and cajolery, they have gotten unto themselves estates They are not of very long standing (in Jeypore) Every Parja village head is still able to point out the fields that have been taken from him to form the Rona hamlet, and, if he is in antagonism with a neighbouring Parja village on the subject of boundaries, he will include the fields occupied by the Rona as belonging *de jure* to his demesne "

The word Rona is said to be the Telegu equivalent of " battle " and according to the Ronas themselves, their ancestors were seven brothers who settled at Nunda which was the former capital of the Rajas of Jeypore

There are four endogamous divisions of the Ronas, *viz* — Rona Paiko, Odiya Paiko, Kottiya Paiko and Pattiya Paiko The following are the exogamous septs of these people Kora (sun), Bhag (tiger), Nag (cobra) and Matsya (fish)

With regard to marriage, it is usual for a man to marry his paternal uncle's daughter When a marriage is being arranged the bridegroom's friends go to the house of the bride with a new cloth and some money which is taken by the bride's mother, and also the wherewithal for a caste feast On the day fixed for the wedding,

* Castes and Tribes of Southern India

the customary booth is erected in front of the bridegroom's house and the pair are made to sit with a screen between them Their hands are joined by the officiating priest, likewise the ends of their cloths in which are tied grains of rice, betel leaves and nuts The screen is then removed and the pair enter the house. The knotted cloth is unjoined but retied every morning for the next three days Widow remarriage is permitted, the younger brother usually marrying the widow of his elder brother

KUMMARA (*Kumbara, Kumbaro*) —

Mr H A Stuart in the Madras Census Report of 1891, states that the potters of the Madras Presidency outside the Tamil country and Malabar are called Kummara in Telegu, Kumbaro in Uriya and Kumbara in Canarese, all these names being corrupt forms of the Sanskrit word Kumbhakara, pot maker (ku, earth). In social position they are considered to be a superior class of Sudras The Telegu Kummaras were cooks under the ancient kings and many of them still work in that capacity in Sudra houses The Kumbaros are purely Vaishnavites and employ Boishnob priests, while the Kummaras and Kumbaras call in Brahmans Widow re-marriage is allowed among the Uriya section alone All of these eat flesh It is further stated that "Kummaras or Kusavans are the potters of the country and were probably at one time a single caste, but are now divided into Telegus, northern Tamilians and southern Tamilians, who have similiar customs but will not inter-marry or eat together The northern and southern potters differ in that the former use a wheel of earthenware and the latter one made of wood The Telegu potters are usually followers of Vishnu and the Tamilians of Siva, some being also Lingayats and therefore bury their dead All the potters claim an impure Brahmanical descent, telling the following story regarding their origin A learned Brahman, after long study, discovered the day and hour in which he might beget a mighty offspring For this auspicious time he waited long and at its approach started for the house of his selected bride, but floods detained him and, when he should have been with her, he was stopping in a potter's house"

"He was, however, resolved not to lose the opportunity and by the daughter of his host, he had a son, the celebrated Salivahana

This hero, in his infancy, developed a genius for pottery and used to amuse himself by making earthern figures of mounted warriors, which he stored in large numbers in a particular place After a time, Vikramarka invaded Southern India and ordered the people to supply him with pots for his army They applied to Salivahana who miraculously infused life into his clay figures and led them to battle against the enemy, whom he defeated and the country (Mysore) fell into his hands Eventually he was left as its ruler and became the ancestor of the early Mysore Rajas Such is the story current among the potters, who generally believe that they are his progeny They all live in a state of poverty and ignorance and are considered of a low rank among other Sudras "

BOTTADA :—

According to Mr H A Stuart, the Bottadas are " a class of Uriya cultivators and labourers speaking Muria or Lucia, otherwise known as Basturia, a dialect of Uriya Mr Taylor says the caste is the same as Muria But whether identical or distinct, it seems clear that both are sub-divisions of the great Gond tribe " *

According to Thurston there is a tradition amongst these people that their ancestors dwelt at Barthagada and came to live in Vizagapatam at a later date Barthagada is believed to have been a place somewhere in the vicinity of what is now the Bastar Feudatory State and it is noteworthy that Bottadas are still to be found in Bastar which would seem to substantiate the tradition The caste is divided into three endogamous groups —

(1) Bodo or genuine Bottadas
(2) Madhya, the offspring of Bottada men and foreign women.
(3) Sanno, descendants of Madhya men and non-Madhya women

As might be expected, the purest stock have a certain amount of contempt for their hybrid brethren and consider themselves to be superior in every respect

* Madras Census Report 1891

Amongst the Bodos are to be found the following exogamous septs —Kochchimo, tortoise, Bhag, tiger, Govi, lizard, Nag, cobra, Kukkuro, dog, Makado, monkey, Cheli, goat

Bodo girls may be married before or after puberty and when a match is contemplated, the prospective bridegroom's parents take liquor and rice to the house of the bride, which is accepted or refused by her family according to whether or not the marriage proposal is considered acceptable If the match is looked upon with favour, a subsequent visit of like nature is made and the call is duly returned by the bride's parents The preliminary arrangements for the marriage are then settled and nine days before the date fixed for the wedding, paddy and the sum of Rs 2 is taken to the house of the bride and a feast is held The actual marriage ceremony is held at the bridegroom's house and the village priest officiates A pandal or bridal booth is erected and the bride is conducted thither. The ends of the cloths of the wedding pair are tied together, and with their little fingers entwined, they walk seven times round the pandal The sacred fire or homam is then kindled and into it are thrown seven different kinds of wood, also ghi, rice, milk and jaggery The bride and bridegroom are sprinkled with turmeric, rice dots made on the forehead and annointed with castor oil New cloths are presented to them and the ceremony is concluded with a caste feast As in the case of the Bavuri caste, widow re-marriage is permitted and the marriage of a younger brother with the widow of his elder brother is not uncommon If, however, a widow re-marries anyone else, the new husband has to pay a fine which is usually a goat, or liquor and rice to the caste fellows

Divorce is permitted and when a man divorces his wife, he is required to give her a maintenance allowance in the form of a new cloth, some paddy and a rupee In the event of a woman divorcing herself and entering into a marriage contract with another man, the latter has to pay the first husband the sum of twenty rupees, part of which is spent on a caste feast to which all parties concerned are invited

The Bottadas burn their dead and a death pollution period lasting for ten days is observed, during which time, agricultural work has to cease and no food is cooked in the house of the deceased

According to Thurston, the Bottadas are considered to be the best cultivators in the Jeypore Agency and have assumed a high social rank The sacred thread is worn in many cases at the time of marriage and afterwards and it is alleged that the right to wear it was acquired by purchase from a former Raja of Jeypore

JHADI TELENGA :—

A small caste in the Bastar State who appear to be a mixture of Gonds and the lower Telugu castes, the name meaning " the jungly Telegus " They have also been called the Balji or Balija caste, but it is doubtful whether the name applies, as Russell says this was an error in the 1901 Census The caste has three subdivisions, the Purait, Surait and Pohni There are also to the usual exogamous septs, the names of which are of totemistic origin

Each sept has a deity of its own, who is usually some local godling symbolised by a wooden post or a stone They offer incense, rice and a fowl to their ancestors in Chait (*March*) at the new year and at the festival of the new rice in Bhadoon The usual seasonal festivals are celebrated, with much beer drinking and music The tribe have a strong belief in witchcraft and magical devices

Marriages must be performed before the girl attains puberty, but a maiden must be tendered first as a bride for her mother's brother's son or her father's sister's son If a girl has not been married before puberty, she may be married by an abridged rite which consists of rubbing her with oil and turmeric, investing her with glass bangles and a new cloth and giving a feast to the caste In such a case the bridegroom must first go through a sham marriage with a branch of the Mahua tree At a regular marriage, a sacred post made of Mahua wood is set up in the courtyard Divorce is permitted and widow marriage is allowed, but the custom in this tribe is unusual in so far that the widow may not

* Madras Census Report, 1891

marry her late husband's brother, nor his first cousin, nor any member of his sept

BEDAR or BOYA :—

The progenitors of this sturdy caste have figured largely in the history of the country as stalwart warriors and were conspicuous in the eighteenth century by reason of the part played by them in assisting Hyder Ali in the terrible depredations committed in the lower Carnatic. Their descendants have, however, since forsaken their original occupation as " brave and faithful thieves " as they have been epitomised by the historian, in favour of more peaceful pursuits For the most part, they have now embraced the calling of agriculture and allied crafts and have settled down as quiet cultivators and herdsmen

As far as recruiting for the Tea Industry is concerned, the following tables will show the distribution of the Bedars in the districts from which it is hoped to obtain labour now that the irksome territorial restrictions relating to Assam recruiting have been withdrawn by the Madras Government

Total population as per Census Report for 1921——440,298
Distribution —

	Souls		Souls
Agency Tracts	2,380	Nellore .	8,108
Vizagapatam	4,673	Cuddapah	10,617
Kistna	6,939	Bellary	127,789
Guntur	3,959	Anantapur .	124,236

The Bedars are an enlightening example of the growth of caste sub-division The Telegu-speaking Boyas and the Canarese Bedars are divided into two main divisions of Uru or village men and Myasa or grass-land men, each of these divisions is again sub-divided into a number of exogamous Bedages The best known are the Yemmalavaru or buffalo men, Mardalavaru or herdsmen, Pulavaru or flower men and Minalavaru or fish men * Each Bedaga has its own deity which is specially worshipped As Thurston points out, it is

* *Vide* Thurston " Caste and Tribes of Southern India "

evident that, by reason of the same names now borned by Boyas and Bedas alike in both the Uru and Myasa divisions, the Boyas and Bedas have sprung from the same homogeneous stock Even so, a distinction is now in evidence, for the two divisions observe rigid laws relating to inter-marriage and certain scruples are in existence regarding food and communal feasting

Religion —Regarding the religion of the Bedars, Mr Mainwaring states —" They worship both Siva and Vishnu and also different gods in different localities In the North Arcot district, they worship Tirepatisvami In Kurnool, it is Kanya Devudu In Cuddapah and Anantapur it is Ghendrugadu and many in Anantapur worship Akkamma, who is believed to be the spirit of the seven virgins Cocoanuts, rice and dal form the offering of the Boyas The women, on the occasion of the Nagalasauthi or snake festival, worship the Nagala swami by fasting and pouring milk into the holes of " white ant " hills By this, a double object is fulfilled The " ant " heap is a favourite dwelling of the nagar or cobra and it was the burial place of Valmiki, so homage is paid to the two at the same time Once a year, a festival is celebrated in honour of the deceased ancestors. This generally takes place about the end of November The Boyas make no use of Brahmans for religious purposes They are only consulted as regards the auspicious hour at which to tie the tali at a wedding Though the Boyas find little use for the Brahmans, there are times when the latter need the services of the Boyas The Boya cannot be dispensed with, if a Brahman wishes to perform Vontigadu, a ceremony by which he hopes to induce favourable auspices under which to celebrate a marriage The story has it that Vontigadu was a destitute Boya, who died *from* starvation It is possible that Brahmans and Sudras hope in some way to ameliorate the sufferings of the race to which Vontigadu belonged, by feeding sumptuously his modern representative on the occasion of performing the Vontigadu ceremony On the morning of the day on which the ceremony, for which favourable auspices are required, are performed, a Boya is invited to the house He is given a present of gingelly (*Sesamum*) oil, wherewith to anoint himself. This done, he returns, carrying in his hand a dagger on the point of which a lime has been stuck He is directed to the cowshed and there given a good meal. After finishing the meal, he sleeps

from the cowshed and dashes out of the house, uttering a piercing yell and waving his dagger He on no account looks behind him. The inmates of the house follow for some distance, throwing water wherever he has trodden By this means, all possible evil omens for the coming ceremony are done away with "

Marriage—Amongst the Myasa Bedars, the preliminary arrangements for a marriage are made by the parents of the parties concerned in consultation with the village headman On the day of the wedding, the bride and bridegroom are required to sit on a platform and five married men place stained rice on various parts of the bridegroom's body A similar ceremony is performed by five-married women on the bride and after the performance has been repeated three times the bridegroom takes the tali, and, with the sanction of the assembled Bedars and the consent of the parents, ties it round the brides neck. The tali is, on some occasions, tied by a Brahman and not by the bridegroom The marriage ceremony is usually performed at the bride's house whither the bridegroom and party repair on the eve of the ceremony when a feast is held to which the bridegroom's parents contribute rice, betel leaves and nuts On the following day four big posts previously smeared with turmeric are placed so as to form a square and nine turns of thread are made round the posts Inside the square, the bridegroom and two young girls are seated and duly anointed The bridegroom and one of the girls are then carried to the temple, followed by the bride and the others assembled After this ceremony has been performed, the party return to the bride's house and the tali is duly tied round the neck of the bride In the evening the contracting couple sit inside the house and by them is placed a big brass dish on which is placed cooked rice, jaggery (sugar) and curds After partaking thereof they go away and five men approach the dish and devour the food with all possible speed This last performance is known as the special eating and in some parts men and women alike partake, and it is believed that should one of the feasters choke or fall ill during the following few months, it is due to irregular behaviour on the part of the bride and bridegroom The marriage ceremony lasts from three to four days and after being annointed on the fourth or fifth day the ceremony is considered as concluded when the bride's father has presented his son-in-law with

a cloth, a turban and a silver ring A man may marry two sisters provided that the elder is married before the younger and divorce is permitted on the grounds of adultery and cruelty, all cases to be decided by a *panchaiyat* The divorced woman is treated as a widow and widow re-marriage is not permitted It is now permissible for a widow to keep house for a man, and should any children be born as a result of their relationship, such offspring may be legitimised by the simple remedy of a free distribution of country spirit amongst the caste fellows

Death Ceremonies—When a Uru Bedar dies, his body is carried to the burial ground by a number of his *jat bhai* and he is decked with flowers and a new cloth The sons of the deceased each place a quarter anna in the mouth of the corpse A grave is dug, the body placed to rest and the earth filled in A mound is placed at the head of the grave and five quarter anna pieces placed thereon An essential part of the ceremony is the sprinkling of water round the grave by the eldest son of the deceased, after which the son repairs to his home but on no account must he look in the direction from whence he came Should the deceased be without heir, the person who officiates is entitled to the property, etc, of the dead person On the third day succeeding the burial, the mound over the grave is destroyed and in its place three stones are deposited Food is prepared and placed by the grave and care is taken that kites do not devour the preparation On the ninth day, the divasa (the day) ceremony is performed Where the deceased died, is placed a brass bowl fashioned to represent the soul of the man Food offerings are made and the bowl, together with the local deities, are taken in procession to a stream and washed

It is said that the spirits of men who die without having married, become heroes, and small temples, consisting of rough stones, are erected in their memory This custom would not perhaps find favour in the Western world, where the hero might be considered as the person who had endured nupital bliss for a succession of years*

* Castes and Tribes of Southern India

DEVALA :—

This caste, the name of which signifies *belonging to God,* is an exogamous sept of the Oddis Their numbers are not considerable and as a caste, do not call for special comment in these pages.

DEVANGA :—

A caste of Telegu speaking weavers found throughout the Madras Presidency According to the last Census Report, they number 144,094 males and 144,742 females

Their distribution in the recruiting areas is as follows .—

	Souls		Souls
Agency Tracts	1,796	Nellore	11,062
Ganjam	15,276	Cuddapah	5,487
Vizagapatam	21,131	Kurnool	917
Godavari	24,213	Bellary	1,910
Kistna	13,693	Anantapur	7,052
Guntur	8,185		

Origin —These people are also known as Jadaru or Jada (great men), Dendra, Devara, Dera, Seniyan and Sedan According to Thurston, the following legend is related regarding the origin of the caste * " Brahma having created Manu, told him to weave clothes for Devas and men Accordingly Manu continued to weave for some years and reached heaven through his piety and virtuous life There being no one left to weave for them, the Devas and men had to wear garments of leaves Vexed at this, they prayed to Brahma that he would rescue them from their plight Brahma took them to Siva, who at once created a lustrous spirit and called him Devalan Struck with the brilliancy thereof, all fled in confusion, excepting Parvati, who remained near Siva Siva told them that Devalan was created to weave clothes, to cover the limbs and bodies of Devas and men, whose descendants are in consequence called Devangas (Deva angam, limb of God) Devalan was advised to obtain thread from the lotus stalks springing from the navel of Vishnu and he secured them after a severe penance On his way back he met a Rakshasa, Vajradantan by name, who was doing

* Castes and Tribes of Southern India

penance at a hermitage, disguised as a Sanyasi Deceived by his appearance, Devalan paid homage to him and determined to spend the night at the hermitage But towards the close of the day, the Rishi and his followers threw off their disguise and appeared in their true colours as Asuras Devalan sought the assistance of Vishnu and a chakra was given to him, with which he attempted to overthrow the increasing number of Asuras He then invoked the assistance of Chaudanayaki, a Chaudeswari, who came riding on a lion and the Asuras were killed off The mighty Asuras who met their death, were Vajradantan (diamond toothed), Pugainethran (smoke-eyed), Pugaimugan (smoke-faced), Chithrasenan (leader of armies), and Jeyadrathan (owner of a victory-securing car) The blood of these five was coloured respectively, yellow, red, white, green and black For dyeing threads of different colours, Devalan dipped them in the blood The Devangas claim to be the descendants of Devalan and say that they are Devanga Brahmans, on the strength of the following stanza, which seems to have been composed by a Devanga priest, Sambalinga Murti by name —

Manu was born in the Brahman caste,
He was surely a Brahman in the womb,
There is no Sudraism in this caste,
Devanga had the form of Brahma "

Religion —The Devangas as a rule are Saivites and wear the lingam In certain parts of the *Ganjam district*, Brahmini bulls are kept and, should one die, very elaborate funeral ceremonies are performed The buying of the bull is considered to be a very meritorious act

Chaudeswari, a form of Kali constitutes the tribal goddess and an annual festival is held when the deity is specially worshipped All weaving must cease during the festival and prominent caste people are required to fast and avoid pollution Sacrifices are made at the temple or site selected for the festival and the assembly are sprinkled with turmeric water The festival continues for several days with abundance of opportunities for the offering of sacrifices, observance of fasts or indulgence in licentious pleasure according to the individual tastes of the participators.

Caste Division.—The Devangas are divided into many endagamous sects, but the main division is of a linguistic nature of which there are two main sections, Canarese and Telegu The former have embraced Brahmanical conceptions and many wear the sacred thread, whilst the latter are more conservative

Marriage.—There is little difference in the marriage ceremonies of the Devangas to distinguish them from other castes of their stock and no special comment here is necessary It is however significant to note that opinion is very divided amongst them regarding the question of widow re-marriage, for in some places it is permitted whilst in others it is strictly forbidden

Death Ceremonies.—The same remarks apply to their observance of funeral rites The dead are usually buried in a sitting position and before the grave is filled, a cord is attached to the *choti* or hair knot by which means, the head is maintained in an upright position until the grave has been completely filled up with earth.

JATAPU :—

Although it is evident that at one time, the Jatapus were a section of the Khonds, they have now come to be considered as a separate caste and if interrogated, state that they consider themselves to be superior to the Khonds

According to the last Census Report, they number 39,135 males, 42,709 females and their distributions is as follows —

Agency Tracts	53,984 souls
Ganjam	9,367 ,,
Vizagapatam	18,457 ,,

The caste is divided into a number of septs of which the following are examples —

Thorika, who revere a species of wild fowl

Mamdangi, who worship the cow

Koneda Gorre, who revere certain breed of sheep.

Koalaka (arrow).

Kutraki (wild goat)
Vinka (white ants)

Marriage.—Marriage is celebrated either before or after puberty There is little of note to distinguish a Jatapu wedding from that of other Telenga castes of the plains The bride price usually consists of a new cloth for the bride's mother and rice and liquor for the rest of the caste fellows On the day fixed for the ceremony, the bride is led to the bridegroom's house and after a feast, the contracting couple have to undergo a toe nail paring ceremony This completed, their wrists are joined together by a wrist thread, and after bathing, another feast is held

Widow re-marriage is allowed and divorce is permissable, divorcees being allowed to enter into another contract should they so desire

Death Ceremonies.—The dead are usually buried, with the exception of those who die from snake bite and they are burnt Death pollution is observed for three days during which time, all work ceases Sraddh ceremonies are performed in honour of the departed and once in twenty years, the caste folk congregate and sacrifice a goat in honour of the ancestors

GOLLA.—

"The Gollas," Mr H A Stuart writes in the Manual of the North Arcot district, "are a great pastoral caste of the Telegu people The traditions of the caste give a descent from the god Krishna, whose sporting with the milkmaids plays a prominent part in Hindu mythology The hereditary occupation of the Gollas is tending sheep and cattle and selling milk, but many of them have now acquired lands and are engaged in farming and some are in Government service They are quiet, inoffensive and comparatively honest In the time of the Nabobs, this last characteristic secured to them the privilege of guarding and carrying treasure and one sub-division, Bokhasa Gollas, owes its origin to this service Even now, those who are employed in packing and lifting bags of money in the district treasuries are called Gollas although they belong to other castes As a fact they do hold a respectable

position and, though poor, are not looked down upon, for they tend the sacred cow Sometimes they assert a claim to be regarded as representatives of the Go-Vaisya division Their title is Mandadi, but it is not commonly used "

Again, the same writer records that " the social status of the Gollas is fairly high, for they are allowed to mix freely with the Kapu, Kamma, and Balija castes and the Brahmans will take buttermilk from their hands They employ Satanis as their priests In their ceremonies there is not much difference between them and the Kapus The name Golla is generally supposed to be a shortened form of Sanskrit ' Gopala ' * (protector of cows) "

The following figures as compiled for the last Census Report will show the numerical strength and distribution of the Gollas throughout the recruiting districts of the Madras Presidency

Total strength 454,006 males, 452,781 females

	Souls		Souls
Agency Tracts	6,674	Kistna	109,045
Ganjam	74,401	Guntur	104,830
Vizagapatam	151,556	Nellore	111,686
Godavari	449,097	Cuddapah	57,776
Kurnool	61,046	Bellary	25,355
Anantapur	49,463		

Of the many sub-divisions of the Golla caste, the following are quoted from Thurston (op cit) —

Erra or Yerra (red) Alleged to be descendants of a Brahman and a Golla woman

Ala or Mekala, who tend sheep and goats

Puja or Puni

Gangeddu, who exhibit performing bulls

Gauda, who in Vizagapatam, visit the western parts of the district during the summer months and settle outside the villages

* Madras Census Report 1891

They tend their herds and sell milk and curds to the villagers

Karna

Pakanati

Racha (royal)

Peddeti (beggars)

In common with other Telegu castes, the Gollas have their various exogamous septs and gotras such as —

Agni—fire
Avula—cows
Gundala—stones
Gurram—horse.
Gorrela—sheep
Katari—dagger
Nakkala—jackal
Saddikudu—food
Vankayala—brinjal

The Puja Gollas claim superiority over the others and descent from a line of kings

Amongst the Gollas can be found Vaishnavites and also the special worshippers of Siva When the villagers are assembled for worship, a number of fibre ropes are placed in a box together with swords and the local idols The box and its contents are then placed beneath a booth made of split bamboo and decorated with flowers Alongside is placed a pot containing smaller pots, cowry shells and the image of a bull Prayers are then offered, after which the box and pots are carefully stored in a room until the next occasion and nobody under pollution is allowed to enter the room

Marriage.—A ceremony called Ganga puja is carried out by the Gollas at the time of a marriage festival and the puja is extended over three days.

Death Ceremonies.—The only outstanding ceremony of note connected with the Golla ceremony is that the corpse after it has been washed is placed on a mortar and two pestals are placed by the side, also a lighted lamp at the head

DOMB.—

Domb or Dombo is alleged to be derived from *dumba* meaning a devil and no doubt has certain reference to the characteristic thieving propensities of the tribe

The Dombs are a Dravidian caste of menials found, so far as the Madras Presidency is concerned, in the hill tracts of Vizagapatam and the Ganjam district The following figures taken from the Madras Census Report of 1921 will show their numerical strength and distribution —

Males, 34,391	Females, 35,925
Vizagapatam Agency Tracts	65,488 souls.
Ganjam Agency Tracts	4,806 ,,

It would seem that the Dombs of Madras are an offshoot of the Dom caste found in Behar and Bengal for their customs vary very little from those of the main tribe domiciled farther to the North Like the Doms, the Dombs are despised by other castes and are, to all intents and purposes, social pariahs

Occupation.—What traces of a traditional occupation remain, indicate that the Dombs were, at one time, weavers, and, although for the most part, they are now engaged in domestic service of a menial order, weavers and general traders can still be found amongst them

The Dombs are akin to the Panos, found in the Khond country and, in fact the caste titles are almost interchangeable

Religion.—Regarding the religion of the Dombs, Mr Fawcett remarks that "their chief god—probably an ancestral spirit—is called Kaluga There is one in each village, in the headman's house The deity is represented by a pie piece (a copper coin), placed in or over a new earthen pot smeared with rice or turmeric powder During worship, a silk cloth, a new cloth or a wet cloth may be worn, but one must not dress in leaves Before the mangoes are eaten, the first fruits are offered to the moon, at the full moon of the month of Chitra."

There is no item of particular note in the birth, marriage or death ceremonies of the Dombs as these adhere in general principle to those of the Doms

GADABA :—

The Gadabas are a tribe found in the Vizagapatam district Formerly their means of subsistence was confined to hunting, but with the preservation of forest land and the restriction of shooting licenses, this pursuit is gradually being forsaken in favour of agriculture

They number 17,164 males, 17,183 females in the Agency Tracts
10,181 ,, 8,917 ,, ,, Vizagapatam

According to tradition, the tribe owes its name to the fact that its ancestors came from the banks of the Gadabari (Godavari) River and settled at Nandapur, the former capital of Jeypore *

They have a language of their own, which, according to Rev. G A Grierson, belongs to the Munda linguistic family.

The Gadabas are divided into five main sections The Bodo (big), Gutob, Parenga, Olaro, Kaththiri and Kapu The last two are found in the plains, whilst the first three are domiciled in the Agency Tracts

The Gadaba women may sometimes be distinguished by the peculiar bustle or skirt favoured by them and the following legend taken from the Gazetter of the Vizagapatam District may account for its appearance " A goddess visited a Gadaba village *incognito* and asked leave of one of the women to rest on a cot She was brusequely told that the proper seat for beggars was the floor and she consequently decreed that thenceforth, all Gadaba women should wear a bustle to remind them to avoid churlishness" Female cloths are made by the women folk themselves from cotton thread and fibre and according to Mr Thurston (op cit), the following is the legendary account given by the Gadabas in explanation of the peculiar dress adopted by their women folk " When Rama, during his banishment was wandering in the forests of

* Thurston, Castes and Tribes of Southern India

Dandaka, his wife Sita accompanied him in spite of his entreaties to the contrary. It was one of the cruel terms of his step-mother Kaika, that Rama should wear only clothing made from jungle fibre, before leaving the capital According to the Hindu religion, a virtuous wife must share both the sorrows and joys of her lord Consequently, Sita followed the example of Rama and wore the same kind of clothing They then left the capital amidst the loud lamentation of the citizens During their wanderings, they met some Gadaba women, who mocked and laughed at Sita Where upon she cursed them and condemned them to wear no other dress but the cloth made of fibre "

Of the Bodo and Olaro sections of the Gadabas, the following septs are to be found —

Kora (sun)	Kira (parrot)
Nag (cobra)	Gollari (monkey)
Bhag (tiger)	

Marriage —Girls are married after the age of puberty The parents of a young man, when it has been decided that the latter should marry, repair to the house of the desired bride, carrying with them gifts of rice and liquor They come ostensibly to ask a favour, but no mention is made of the purport of the visit After they have partaken of a meal, they adjourn and, on a day fixed by the head man of the village, a number of the aged relations of the youth visit the girl's house and fix the preliminaries of the match They also are expected to partake of the hospitality of the house, after which they return to their homes On the day of the wedding, the bridegroom's family visit the village of the bride, contribute a rupee towards the marriage expenses, distribute various gifts to the relatives of the bride and present every other female in the village with eight annas, probably to compensate for the loss of the girl from the ranks of the village beauty chorus The bride is presented with glass bangles to be worn on the right wrist and a bead necklace The remaining ceremonies follow in broad principle, the requirements of marriages amongst other castes with the exception that with certain sections of the Gadabas the ceremonies afford interesting examples of the old custom of marriage

by capture The male relatives and friends of the bride congregate and form a cordon round the bride The prospective bridegroom musters the stalwarts of his village and, at their head, charges the opposition and fights until the bride has been secured Nowadays these skirmishes are, no doubt, executed according to plan but there is every reason to believe that the custom is an echo of the past

Religion —In the main, the religion of the Gadabas requires but the observance of feasts at certain intervals of the year The chief feast or festival is the hunting feast held in March or April On this occasion, the male population of the village go forth to hunt and if unsuccessful, are pelted with cow dung on their return, if on the other hand, their efforts have been fruitful, they take their revenge in quite a masculine manner

Their gods are loosely classified under the general term Devata, the chief deities being Ganga Devi, Iswara, Bhairava and Jhankara The last named is the god of land, crops, etc, and is specially revered Temples are not usually erected but the pujas are offered in sacred groves set apart •

" There is," Mr G F Paddison writes, " rather a curious custom in connection with a village goddess. Close to her shrine a swing is kept On this swing, once a year at the great village festival, thorns are placed and the village priest or priestess sits on them without harm If the pujari is a male, he has been made neuter But, if the village is not fortunate enough to possess a eunuch, a woman performs the ceremony (At the fire walking ceremony at Nuvagode in Ganjam the priest sits on a thorny swing and is endowed with prophetic powers) When there is small-pox or other epidemic disease in the village, a little gocart is built, composed of a box on legs fixed to a small board on wheels In this box is placed a little clay image, or anything else holy and carried away to a distant place and left there A white flag is hoisted, which looks like quarantine but is really intended, I think, to draw the goddess back to her shrine Vaccination is regarded as a religious ceremony and the Gadabas, I believe, invariably present the vaccinator as the officiating priest with rice,"

Birth Ceremonies —There is nothing significant to note in the Gadaba birth ceremonies, but they, in common with other hill tribes, name their offspring after the day of the week on which the child is born.

Death —The dead as a rule, are burnt, but on some occasions the bodies are buried. Pollution is observed for three days during which time the relatives affected are not permitted to engage in the caste occupation Stones are erected in memory of the deceased and sacrifices are offered at given intervals

TSAKALA (*Sakalas* or *Chakalas*) —

The Tsakalas are a Telegu caste of *dhobies* and amongst certain sections of them can be found torch and palanquin bearers, whilst others have taken to agriculture

They are found throughout the Madras Presidency and number 193,436 males, 194,988 females

Their distribution amongst the recruiting districts is as follows —

Agency Tracts	3,618 males.	2,818 females
Ganjam	12,928 ,,	13,545 ,,
Vizagapatam	31,128 ,,	32,074 ,,
Godavari	18,811 ,,	19,215 ,,
Kistna	25,820 ,,	28,823 ,,
Guntur	29,468 ,,	29,101 ,,
Nellore	17,073 ,,	17,278 ,,
Cuddapah	11,821 ,,	10,845 ,,
Kurnool	12,477 ,,	11,850 ,,
Bellary	4,800 ,,	6,212 ,,
Anantapur	10,280 ,,	9,450 ,,

In common with other Telegu castes, the Tsakalas have many exogamous septs and gotras of which the following are examples —

Gummadi (gummadi fruit)

Chimala (ant)

The sub-divisions of the caste are, Reddi, Bhumi, Murikinati, Pakanati, Desa, Golkonda, etc The caste God of the Tsakalas is Madivalayya, and a festival immediately following the Pongal festival in January is held in his honour Models of the washing pots and stone slabs such as are used in washing clothes are made in rice and paste A goat is sacrificed and the models are offered fruit and flowers and worshipped The blood of the goat is smeared over the offerings and the stone slabs It is thought that if this ceremony is not observed, the clothes, when boiling in the pots, would catch fire and be ruined The festival marks a general holiday and lasts for five days

The detail of a marriage ceremony is very similar to that observed by the Kammas and on the last day of the festival, a goat is sacrificed to the marriage pots The distribution of country spirit forms an essential part of a Tsakala wedding

MADIGA :—

The Madigas are a great leather working caste found throughout the Telegu country The following figures taken from the last Census Report will show their numerical strength and distribution —

371,772 males 365,705 females

Agency Tracts	4,626 males	5,066 females
Ganjam	2,478 ,,	3,070 ,,
Vizagapatam	19,117 ,,	20,361 ,,
Godavari	32,641 ,,	31,922 ,,
Kistna	65,939 ,,	64,622 ,,
Guntur	28,244 ,,	26,985 ,,
Nellore	42,932 ,,	41,387 ,,
Cuddapah	27,421 ,,	26,450 ,,
Kurnool	31,938 ,,	30,447 ,,
Bellary	29,873 ,,	33,528 ,,
Anantapur	54,193 ,,	50,995 ,,
Chittoor	42,935 ,,	23,842 ,,

It would seem that the Madigas were at one time, particular worshippers of Kali and it is alleged by some, that they are the direct descendants of the goddess They also claim that mention of their caste is made in the Ramayana

Their great feast is at the Pongal festival when their tanning pots are worshipped

As regards their origin, the following legend taken from the Manual of the Cuddapah district is quoted in the *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* "A thousand years ago, there lived near the pool (a pool in the Cuddapah district) a king, who ruled over all this part of the country The king had as his commander-in-chief a Madiga This Madiga made himself powerful and independent and built himself a residence on a hill still called Madiga Vanidoorgam At last he revolted and defeated the king On entering the king's palace, he found seven beautiful virgins, the king's daughters, to all of whom, he at once made overtures of marriage They declined the honour and, when the Madiga wished to use force, they all jumped into this pool and delivered their lives to the universal lord" This Madiga is accordingly looked upon as the founder of the race

Of the many exogamous divisions of the Madigas, the following may be quoted —

Gampa	dhompti	(basket offering).
Bhumi	,,	(earth offering)
Chatla	,,	(winnowing basket offering)
Sibbi	,,	(brass vessel offering)

Regarding the totemistic septs the following will serve as examples —Belli (silver), Darala (thread), Emme (buffalo), Kaththi (knife), Pasula (cow) and Thela (scorpion)

The Madigas have evolved their own system for the punishment of caste offences, such matters being decided by a village committee over which a headman presides The head man is known as Pedda and the office is handed down from father to son and is a family title.

There is nothing of particular note in their marriage ceremonies which conform in broad principle to those of other similar castes Widow re-marriage is common although the woman does not appear to gain in social status as in the case in certain other tribes

The dead may be either buried or burnt The usual offerings of food are made and in the case of burial, three stones are erected over the grave on which is set a pot of water

KONDA DORA.—

A caste of hill cultivators found chiefly in the Vizagapatam District, known also as Konda Kapus and Ojas Their speech appears to be a dialect of Khond and it has been thought that the Konda Doras are merely a section of the Khonds

There are two divisions, the Pedda (big) and the Chinna (little) The Pedda have retained a semi-independence, but the Chinna have come under Telegu domination The former are sub-divided into totemistic septs, the latter have adopted the Telegu system of exogamous septs

Marriage in both divisions is a simple ceremony, a bride-price being paid Widows are permitted to re-marry, while divorce is permitted on the usual grounds

The Konda Reddis or Hill Reddis of Godavari are allied to the Konda Doras and have some characteristics in common with the Koyas

The Konda Doras profess to be Hindus of the Saivite and Vaisnavite sects and occasionally employ Brahmans at their feasts, they however worship the Pandavas, the spirits of the hills, their ancestors and the usual malignant forest deities found among aboriginal tribes They are very superstitious and believe firmly in witchcraft

These people live by *jhuming* or shifting cultivation They numbered in all 65,000 in 1921, 20,000 of whom were in the Agency Tracts.

ODIYA :—

The Odiyas are a comparatively small caste of farmers domiciled in the Agency Tracts and Ganjam

According to the last Census Report, they numbered —

6,741 males	6,959 females	in the	Agency Tracts
28,342 ,,	40,870 ,,	,,	Ganjam

The word Odiya literally means an inhabitant of Odissa or Orissa, but they have now come to be considered as a separate caste found, as the above figures will show, chiefly in Ganjam

There are three main sections of the Odiyas, *viz* —Benaito, Numiya and Baraghoria, the first taking social precedence and found chiefly in the hills Of the gotras and exogamous septs, the following may be cited —

Nagasira (cobra)	Gonda (rhinoceros)
Baraha (boar)	Kochipo (tortoise).

Marriage may be either infant or adult and widow and divorcee marriage is allowed

The Odiyas have no particular tutelary diety but worship Jagannath and the village gods

The dead are usually burnt, at which ceremony and in fact at all ceremonies, Brahman priests officiate

VELAMA-YELAMA :—

The Velamas are a Telegu speaking caste of agricultural labourers found chiefly in Vizagapatam and Ganjam

According to the last Census Report they numbered 516,424 souls, the main distribution being —

Vizagapatam	318,190 souls
Ganjam	82,481 ,,
Kistna	36,730 ,,
Godavari	32,094 ,,
Nellore	15,050 ,,

Certain doubts exist as to the actual origin of the Velamas and by some writers it is alleged that they are an offshoot from the Balijas This idea is however emphatically denied both by the Velamas themselves and the Balijas who despise them Others again assert that this tribe and the Kammas are of the same origin and their theory seems to have been deduced from the fact that the Velamas in common with the Kammas favoured previously the *gosha* or purdah state for their women folk

Of the recognised sub-divisions of the Velamas, the Kapus are the most important After them come the Koppala, Padma, Ponneti and Yanadi

There are no outstanding features in any of their domestic or social ceremonies and their religious observances follow very closely those of the Hindus already described in Chapter IV of this compilation

MALA :—

The Malas are the Pariah caste of the Telegu country and are on a social grade with the Madigas, although a certain amount of ill feeling exists between the two castes

They number 737,640 males and 755,489 females

The distribution is as follows —

Agency Tracts	11,467	males	12,382	females
Ganjam	33,572	,,	33,968	,,
Vizagapatam	67,001	,,	75,548	,,
Godavari	137,260	,,	135,884	,,
Kistna	158,094	,,	167,686	,,
Guntur	65,254	,,	67,450	,,
Nellore	83,370	,,	66,327	,,
Cuddapah	29,992	,,	29,356	,,
Bellary	7,507	,,	7,974	,,
Anantapur	11,878	,,	11,675	,,

According to the Rev S Nicholson, the origin of the Malas is as follows —

" Originally the Malas belonged to the kudi paita section of the community, i e, their women wore the cloth over the right shoulder, but now there are both right and left paita sections, and this must be taken as the principal division The right hand (right paita) section is again divided into (a) Reddi Bhumalavaru, (b) Pokunativaru The left hand (left paita) section are Murikinativaru The following legend professes to account for the existence of the three divisions When Virabahuvu went to the rescue of Harischandra, he promised Kali that, if she granted him success, he would sacrifice to her his wives, of whom he had three Accordingly, after his conquest of Vishvamithrudu, he returned, and called his wives that he might take them to the temple in order to fulfil his vow The wives got some inkling of what was in store for them, and one of them took refuge in the house of a Reddi Bhumala, another ran away to the eastern country (Pokunati), while the third, though recently confined, and still in her dirty (muriki) cloth, determined to abide by the wish of her lord She was, therefore, sacrificed to Kali, but the goddess, seeing her devotion, restored her to life, and promised to remain for ever her helper The reason given for the change in the method of wearing the cloth is that, after the incident described above took place, the women of the Murikinati section, in order to express their disapproval of the two unfaithful wives, began to wear their cloths on the opposite, *viz* the left shoulder In marriages, however, whatever the paita of the bride, she must wear the cloth over the right shoulder "

" The Reddi Bhumalu and Pokunativaru say that the reason they wear the cloth over the right shoulder is that they are descendants of the gods According to a legend, the goddess Parvati, whilst on a journey with her lord Parameshvarudu, discarded one of her unclean (maila) cloths, from which was born a little boy This boy was engaged as a cattle-herd in the house of Parameshvarudu. Parvati received strict injunctions from her lord that she should on no account allow the little Mala to taste cream One day, however, the boy discovered some cream which has been scraped from the inside of the pot sticking to a wall He tasted it, and

found it good Indeed, so good was it that he came to the conclusion that the udder from which it came must be even better still So one day, in order to test his theory, he killed the cow Then came Parameshvarudu in great anger, and asked him what he had done, and, to his credit be it said, the boy told the truth Then Parameshvarudu cursed the lad and all his descendants, and said that from henceforth cattle should be the meat of the Malas—the unclean "

Of the many exogamous septs of the Malas, the following may be quoted —

Avuka (marsh)	Allam (ginger)
Bandi (cart)	Gone (Sack)
Bommola (dolls)	Gurram (horse)
Dakku (fear)	Pasala (cow)
Dhoma (mosquito)	Pindi (flour).

Occupation —The Malas are chiefly employed in weaving and also act as agricultural casual labourers Although formerly they held an appreciable amount of land, indolence and love of riotous living has levied its toll and now they are merely an impoverished caste of weavers

Marriage —This ceremony is arranged in consultation with a Brahman priest and the elders of the village The parents of the boy enquire of the priest the direction in which a suitable bride should be sought For this information, a small fee is required and, on payment, the horoscope of the boy is consulted by the Brahman He foretells the direction in which evil, distress and poverty are lacking and where only gain is to be found The parents ascertain the villages in the direction indicated and proceed thither, being careful to conceal the object of their visit They then set about to discover whether or not a marriageable girl resides therein and should such be the case, find out in a round about manner the prosperity of the girl and her people If they are satisfied, the object of their visit is made known Assuming that the girl's parents are agreeable to the match, offerings of betel-leaves are made and the visiting party take their leave and promise to return and make the necessary arrangements after nine days On the second visit, the

preliminaries are arranged after a free distribution of toddy and betel leaves The day for the wedding is fixed and the remaining ceremonies follow fairly closely those of other low Dravidian castes.

Death Ceremonies —As soon as a Mala expires, his big toes are tied together and his ears and nostrils are stopped Incense is burnt at the head of the corpse and a lamp is left burning in the house After the body has been bathed and wrapped in a new cloth, the relatives eat a small portion of food The corpse is then placed on a bier and carried to the burial ground The procession is headed by the village priest, who at alternate steps strikes a bell The body is placed in a shallow grave with the feet towards the north, and leaves are placed over the corpse Before the grave is completely filled in, a stone is placed at each end and one in the middle A liberal recourse to country spirit marks the conclusion of the funeral until the fifth day when the Divasalu ceremony is observed This ceremony consists of the sacrifice of a goat to ensure the repose of the departed person's soul

KAMMA :—

The Kammas, a caste of Dravidian stock, appear to be closely allied to the Kapus or Reddis, Velamas and Telegas Formerly they were soldiers by profession but have now forsaken that calling in favour of the more peaceful occupation of agriculture

The word Kamma in Telegu means "ear ornament" and many stories are told which indicate a common ancestry with the Reddis and Velamas One legend relates that "the Rishis, being troubled by Rakshasas, appealed to Vishnu for protection and he referred them to Lakshmi The goddess gave them a casket containing one of her ear ornaments (kamma) and enjoined them to worship it for a hundred years At the expiry of that period, a band of five hundred armed warriors sprang up from the casket, and, at the request of the Rishis, attacked and destroyed the giants After this they were directed to engage in agriculture, being promised extensive estates and the consideration paid to Kshatriyas They accordingly became possessed of large territories such as Amravati and others in Kistna, Nellore and other districts and have always been most successful agriculturists." *

* Manual of the North Arcot District.

The following table shows the numerical strength and main distribution of the Kammas —

	588,017 males	572,967 females
Kistna	119,574 ,,	107,160 ,,
Guntur	159,355 ,,	157,333 ,,
Nellore	54,111 ,,	55,858 ,,
Chittoor	47,907 ,,	47,541 ,,
Godavari	27,921 ,,	28,339 ,,
Anantapur	20,664 ,,	19,253 ,,
Kurnool	7,204 ,,	7,109 ,,
Bellary	2,406 ,,	2,310 ,,

The main sub-divisions of the Kammas are —

Gampa,	Kavali,	Bangaru
Illuvellani,	Vaduga,	
Godajati,	Pedda,	

The two chief endogamous sections are the Gampa (basket) Chatu and Goda (wall) Chatu Chatu is supposed to indicate a screen or hiding place Thurston cities the following story regarding the origin of these two sections —

" Two sisters were bathing in a tank when a king happened to pass by To hide themselves, one of the sisters hid behind a basket and the other behind a wall The descendants of the two sisters became the Gampa and Goda Chatu Kammas, who may not inter-marry by reason of their original close relationship "

The following are examples of the exogamous septs or gotras extant among the Kammas —

Tsanda (tax or subscription)	Palakala (planks)
Jasthi (too much)	Kasturi (musk)
Mallela (jasmine)	Baththala (rice)
Lanka (island)	Karnam (accountant).
Gali (wind).	Irpina (combs).

Mr H A Stuart, writing in the Manual of the North Arcot District, states that the Kammas are "most industrious and intelligent cultivators, who, now that the gosha" (seclusion of women) "have been generally abandoned, beat all rivals out of the field—a fact which is recognised by several proverbs such as *Kamma vani chetulu kattina nilavadu* (though you tie a Kamma's hands he will not be quiet), *Kamma vandlu chente kadama jatula vellunu* (if Kammas come in, other castes go out), *Kamma vanki bhumi bhayapadu tunnadi* (the earth fears the Kammas), and many others to the same effect"

Religion —Generally speaking, the Kammas are Vaishnavites, although the goddess Ganga is held in much esteem The reason for the worship of Ganga is traceable through a caste legend which states that the Kammas were forced to flee from Northern India because of the anger of a certain Raja They were pursued but on reaching the Mahanadi river they prayed to Ganga to divide the waters and allow them to cross The prayer was heard and, like the children of Israel, the Kammas escaped and their enemies were overwhelmed by the water

Marriage —To arrange for a wedding, it is necessary for a relative of the future bridegroom to pay a visit to the house of the prospective bride On the way to the house, a keen look out is kept for auspicious signs and omens Whenever anything is seen or met that augurs well for the success of the project on hand, the delegates burn camphor and split a cocoanut in two pieces One half of the latter is sent to the prospective bridegroom and the other is taken with them to the bride to be It is essential in the performance that the cocoanut should be in two equal parts and with clean cut edges and if the first attempt is not successful, other cocoanuts are broken until the desired result has been obtained On reaching the house, the bride demands the cocoanut, and offerings of rice, flowers, betel-nut, turmeric, plantains and such like are placed in her lap The necessary preliminaries for the wedding are then fixed in consultation with the bride's father and the emissaries return and make a report to the coming bridegroom The wedding festivities extend over several days On the first day a box ceremony is performed Cloths for the contracting couple,

five plantains, nuts and turmeric, four or five rupees, together with the bride price are deposited in the box, after which, it is placed beside the parents of the couple The contents are then laid out and examined by the relatives of both parties Certain presents are made by the father of the bride to the father of the bridegroom with the words "the girl is yours, and the money mine" The bridegroom's father hands back the presents saying "the girl is mine and the money is yours" * After being repeated three times the officiating priest declares that the man's daughter is to be given in marriage and the promise is witnessed by all assembled This promise is binding even though the bridegroom should die before the ceremonies have been completed, in which case, the girl is considered to be a widow The milk post is next set up and the marriage pots arranged The nalagu ceremony is then performed This ceremony consists of annointing the bridal pair with oil The nails of the bridegroom are then pared by a barber, who makes a pretence at a similar operation on the bride After the couple have bathed, the bridegroom is led away to worship the heroes of the caste in the temple The marriage booth is then erected under which five bricks representing the heroes are placed The bricks are smeared with turmeric paste, painted with red dots and the bridegroom prostrates himself before them Pots are placed in front of the bricks and camphor is burnt With a sword the bridegroom slices some limes and lightly touches the pots three times The above rite is performed both by the Goda and Gampa sections of the Kammas with slight variations in the case of the former On the completion of the hero worship the couple stand whilst the wrist threads are bound on them The officiating priest lights the sacred fire and the pair sit together on a plank A screen is then placed between them and the man, standing with his right big toe on that of the woman, ties the bottu round her back—the bottu being a flat disc of metal After walking three times round the dias with the ends of their cloths knotted together, they are duly wedded and stand to receive the congratulations of friends and relatives Certain mimic performances have to be undergone by the pair and it is not until the third day that the wrist threads are removed It is noteworthy that amongst the Kammas a marriage

* Thurston, Castes and Tribes of Southern India

is not consummated until three months after the wedding ceremony, as it is held to be unlucky to have three in a household during the first year of marriage

Death Ceremonies —The dead are usually burnt Just before a Kamma breathes his last, camphor is burnt and a cocoanut is broken The thumbs and big toes of a corpse are tied together. The corpse is taken to the burning ground on a bier and *en route* the cortège stops and food is placed at each corner of the bier A Mala then repeats the following—" I am the first born (*i e*, the representative of the oldest caste) I wore the sacred thread at the outset I am Sangu Paraiyan (or Reddi Mala) I was the patron of Arichandra Lift the corpse and turn it round with its head towards the smasanam (burning ground) and feet towards the house "*

After the corpse has been placed on the pyre, rice is thrown on it, whilst the chief mourner circles round three times carrying a vessel of water During the third turn, he lights the pyre and straightway goes off to bathe An effigy is made from the ashes and food offered to it Death pollution lasts for fifteen days and on the sixteenth, a purificatory ceremony takes place Sraddh is performed for the first year but is not repeated

* Thurston op cit

(b) KOLARIAN SPEAKING GROUP.

The MUNDAS :—

Origin —As mentioned in Chapter VI, the probable origin of this tribe is that they entered India from the South and South-East at a period when India had land connections with Australia and was cut off from Northern Asia The language spoken has been known as " Kolarian " and is now recognised as being a sub-family of the Austro-Asiatic group of languages Ethnologically, the Mundas and Dravidians, of whom the Oraons are a type, are not distinguishable and it is, therefore, argued that these two races are among the earliest inhabitants of India and approximate to one another ethnically as a consequence of intermarriage and similarity of environment " Intermarriage " which is strictly interdicted nowadays, refers, of course, to the earlier period when exogamy began and women were captured outside the tribe

The Mundas are nearly related to the Hos, Santals and Kharias, the four tribes representing probably comparatively recent branchings off from some general body or, as some think, the Mundas represent the main body, the others being offshoots

Numbers and Distribution —At the last Census the Mundas numbered 593,839, of whom 366,500 were found in Behar and Orissa, and 128,000 in Assam, most of the latter being either Tea Garden Coolies or ex-tea garden labourers now settled on the land The *Munda Country* consists of the South-eastern quarter of the Ranchi District and the plateau and hills to the North of Singhbhum, known as Parahat In these two districts there are 286,000 souls In the Rajshahi Division (Dooars) 66,000 were found

Mundas are also found settled in the Native States of Kharsawan, Seraikela and Gangpur, while a large settlement has found its way to the northern portions of Sambalpur and the Borai State There are indeed settlers in most of the outlying States—Keonjhar, Sirguja and Jashpur Considerable numbers of Mundas are also to be found on the little plateau which occurs as an outcrop in the Manbhum District, named Baghmundi Here the Mundas are

found in a great state of purity, as is to be expected from the inaccessible nature of Baghmundi, but their brethren of the plains have been partially Hinduized and are known as *Bhumij* These Bhumij retain the Munda burial customs, but have lost their Munda speech.

In the Central Provinces, as far West as Jubbulpore and extending to the Rewah State and beyond into Mirzapur of the United Provinces, are found the Kols, who are in origin Mundas having been through various vicissitudes, but who have still retained a dim memory of their relationship to their cousins in Chota Nagpur.

Language.—As has been stated the Munda language is Kolarian, and is of a curiously interesting form It is *agglutinative* as opposed to the *organic* form of Hindi and English That is to say, in Mundari there are no parts of speech The language consists of a number of words which may be used as nouns, verbs, etc , according to the position in a word-sentence It is an extraordinarily precise and flexible language and comparatively easy to acquire

The Mundas call themselves *Horoko, horo* being the word for a man (*ko* is the sign of the plural), the word *Munda* meaning *headman* as will be emphasised when discussing the organisation of the village community *H* and *K* are frequently interchangeable as are also *L* and *R* (*R* being a palatal pronounced with the tongue pressed to the roof of the mouth) Hence *Kol* is merely a variation of *Hor* It has been mentioned that the Hos or Larka Kols (fighting or warlike) of Singhbhum and the Santals are nearly allied to the Mundas The three languages are almost identical in structure, Santali being slightly more complex especially as regards the verb The main differences in the languages are, however, typified by the words used in these languages for *man*, the same word being used in speaking of the race

Thus .—

Santali	.	Hor
Mundari	.	Horo
Larka Kol (or Ho)	...	Ho.

The Mundari R approximates to the English or perhaps the Scotch R, the Santali has a palatal R, while the Larka Kols omit the R in the middle of words —

Mundari	*Ho*	
Kuri	Kui	a girl
Ora	O-a	a house

All these languages have a *checked vowel*—Santali being particularly jerky to listen to Thus water is *da* pronounced da-a—the first *a* being very sharp—not unlike a Glasgow man's pronunciation of *water* " wa'er "

The best book on the Mundari language is Hoffman's *Grammar* and his two *Exercises*, available at the Catholic Orphan Press, Calcutta. With these books and a paniwallah or syce to practise on, one should make good progress with the language As in Greek there is a dual number, and a woman is always addressed in the Dual " aben " instead of " am " which is applied to a man It is always easy to distinguish whether one has picked up Mundari among the pluckers or among those hoeing!

Tribal Organisation —The Mundas are divided into exogamous septs, each sept or killi venerating a distinct *totem*. Examples of the names totem are —

Horo or Kachap	a tortoise
Tuti	a plant
Soe	a fish
Nag	Cobra
Purthi	an insect
Barla	a fruit
Bejra	small hawk.
Chirko	mushroom
Demta	red tree-ant

(Risley gives a list of 350 Septs !)

There are frequently several sub-divisions of each Killi signifying newly separated exogamous groups The Eastern portion of the Munda country speaks the purest Mundari and retains the old tribal organisation to this day. It is split up into *patis* or groups

of about seventeen villages, presided over by a *Manki,* hence this area is known as the Manki-pati The Manki is maintained by contributions from each village and by his own cultivation in the Manki-village In this area, there is no individual ownership of land, the village lands being held jointly by the village community No rent is paid but the community is jointly liable for an annual payment to the Manki, which is called " chanda " (subscription) and which represents the commuted value of military service The lands in the village are cultivated by individual members, each of whom enjoys the fruit of his own cultivation, and his sons nowadays usually inherit his particular fields, but if a man dies intestate, the fields return to the community and are shared by the " hagako " (brotherhood) The idea of individual ownership which is at the basis of the English conception of land tenures is spreading to the Mundas and the system will break down sooner or later In the western portions, it did break down, but owing to the ignorance of the District Officers The *Munda* or headman invariably appeared as spokesman for the village and incidentally it was in this way that the tribe received its present name He was treated by Officials as a zemindar and the other members of the community merely as his raiyats Some *Mundas* were not averse to this distinction and encouraged the illusion They borrowed money, mortgaged the villages, and allowed them to be sold for debt Very rapidly the aboriginal began to be ousted from his holdings and there was much agrarian discontent, culminating in the risings of 1820 and 1832 After the Mutiny in which they participated, an attempt was made to legislate for the Mundas according to their own customs The Bhuihari Survey was held in 1862 and certain lands were set aside for the use of the aboriginal families in those villages where the communal system was disappearing This did not remove the discontent, however, and a further rising under Birsa Bhagwan occurred in 1900 The new Chota Nagpur Tenancy Acts of 1893 and 1908 have gone far towards a settlement of agrarian questions, but there is still considerable discontent, fostered recently by non-co-operators

The Mundas are agriculturists and despise all other occupation. In their villages, and maintained by contributions in kind,

but occasionally in cash, reside the necessary industrialists—Lohars, Barhis, Kumhars, Turis or weavers in bamboo, Malars (workers in brass) and Panrs (weavers) These people are occasionally given small plots of land to cultivate

Religion and Religious Ceremonies —The Mundas are Animists, though Babu S C Roy, author of "*The Mundas and their Country*" puts in for them a claim to a higher religion of a monotheistic type, on the ground that they venerate Singh Bonga as the lord of all and that the rest of the pantheon includes the spirits of ancestors, the woodland spirits being merely dæmons of a lower order, belief in which does not affect their essential monotheism The idea of Singh Bonga, however, is exceedingly vague and he is nowhere worshipped in the true sense of the word—a little food is daily set aside for him and for the ancestor spirits, but almost the whole of the religious activities of these people consists of the offering of propitiations to the dæmons The priest of the village, or as he is called, the Pahan, is the real Headman, but he is far too holy to appear before strangers to represent the community in mundane matters, the *Munda* has done this and has profited by the prominence thus acquired There is at present a growing antagonism between the respective branches of the village community, known as the *Pahan Khunt* and the *Munda Khunt* The Pahan is responsible for all public sacrifices and for appeasing the village deities in the *Sarna*, a grove left standing when the forest clearing was first established The principal feasts are —

(i) *Maghe Parab* held at the full moon of Pous (January/February) The *penates* or household gods—the spirits of deceased ancestors—are worshipped at this festival At this time of the year too new servants are engaged for the following year and are 'fed' as in Scotland

(ii) *Phagua* held at the full moon of Falgun (March/April) This festival corresponds to the *Holi* festival of the Hindus and is the spring festival The Pahan propitiates all the local deities, and the sacrifices have the magical object of increasing the fertility of the earth

(iii) *Ba-Parab* (Flower festival), also known as the Sarhul, celebrated in Chait (April/May) when the Sal trees are in bloom Sacrifices are performed in the Sarna, a sacred grove, and much rice beer is imbibed

(iv) The *Hon-Ba Parab* and *Batauli* are private festivals held just before the first sowing and the first transplanting and are meant to ensure the success of these operations The *Karam* festival is also an agricultural ceremony intended to secure the health and well-being of the growing corn, it is held in August-September (Bhado) There are several other minor festivals, before reaping, before threshing and before eating the new rice In fact, no opportunity is missed of making a spree of any occasion

(v) The *Sohrac* is the great harvest festival held on the day of the new moon of Kartik (October/November) Cattle are venerated and fêted, being fed on boiled rice beer The Mundas dance all night and have a great revel

Marriage —As has previously been stated, marriage must take place within the tribe, but outside one's own Killi or sept The bride is formally adopted into her husband's Killi and the ceremony of the putting on of *Sindur* (red lead) by the bridegroom on the forehead of the bride is a relic of the old ceremony of the mingling of blood It is the essential part of the actual celebration of marriage The bride has to adopt the totem of her husband, but continues to venerate her own totem Infant marriages are unknown, and a bride is paid for in rupees or in cattle Divorce is easy and frequently merely means the return to the husband of the bride-price (gonong) by the Lothario who has won the wife's affection. There is a formal betrothal ceremony and much drinking of rice beer An interesting item is the binding of a mango tree with a thread and the citing of the tree as a witness to the marriage

Widow re-marriage is freely permitted, though an elder brother's widow is expected to live with her surviving brother-in-law The marriage of widows is called " sagai " or " sangha "

Readers wishing further details of the marriage ceremonies are referred to S C Roy's " The Mundas and their Country "

Birth Ceremonies —There must be a public acceptance of the child by the putative father on the sixth day after birth (Chathi) The mother has to go through various purificatory ceremonies of no particular interest

Death —The bodies of the deceased are buried, and a year after, the bones are disinterred and placed under the burial stones in the ancestral village Most villages have extensive graveyards (Sasan) and great slabs of stone flat on the ground cover the bones of deceased members of the family No one but members of the family of the original reclaimer of the village site may be buried here, the right to bury being taken as a proof of membership in the family and, therefore, as conveying the right to a plot of land to cultivate The Mundas have a saying *" Horoharkoa patta do sasandhiri "* (" These gravestones are the pattas or title deeds of the Mundas ") Every Munda cherishes the thought that his bones will finally be interred in the family burial ground and dutiful sons will carefully preserve the bones of parents who have died under foreign skies, taking them for burial when opportunity offers to the ancestral village This should be encouraged by employers with large Munda settlements

SUB-TRIBES —Nagbangshi Mundas (see page 10) and Munda-Oraons The Munda-Oraons are Oraons living about the town of Ranchi and to the south and south-east for a distance of about fifteen miles They speak a dialect of Mundari, but have all the customs of Oraons They were probably early settlers in Munda villages and adopted the Munda tongue The Mundas themselves have retired from this area and are not now found there, with the exception of a family maintained for the express purpose of propitiating the village deities

MAHILI or KHANGAR MUNDAS —These people are obviously Dravidians, but are not admitted as being of the Munda community for purposes of marriage or commensalism They do menial tasks in Mundari villages

MUNDA LOHARS—These are the Lohars or blacksmiths maintained in Munda villages They speak Mundari and their customs approximate to those of their hosts

The *Bhumij* are a sub-tribe, but will be separately treated —

(1) *Manki Mundas* } Hinduized sub-tribes found in the
(2) *Munda Majhi* } Ranchi and Manbhum Districts
(3) *Konkpat Mundas* } of no particular importance

N B—The word *Munda* is frequently pronounced *MURA* Many Lohars, Kumhars and weavers pose as Mundas when being recruited If these people are asked whether they are *pukka* Mundas, (Horohon tan me?) they will usually deny it, answering "*Ka*"—No, and admit they are Lohars or weavers as the case may be

BHUMIJ or BHUMIJ KOLS:—

These people are mainly found in the Manbhum District (Purulia) 91,000 having been enumerated here in the 1911 Census 45,000 are in Assam Total for India —287,148 They are also found in small numbers in Kharsawan and Singhbhum "Bhumi" is a Bengali word signifying *the earth* and the Bhumij like the Munda is a cultivator and despises any other occupation They are confined mainly to the south and south-western parganas of Manbhum and merge into the Mundas of Ranchi, by whom they are also called Mundas Except in Baghmundi to the west of Purulia, they have lost their distinctive speech and speak Bengali, but they retain their ancient burial customs and the tribal divisions into exogamous septs They call themselves "Sardars" and we find traces of the Manki Pati system described under the section dealing with the Mundas

Barabhum and Patkum parganas are divided up into "Tarafs" under a "Taraf Sardar" who is now a subordinate police official, paid for his services by the revenue of his "taraf", villages are held by *ghatwals* who pay contributions to the *Taraf Sardar* Formerly, when Zemindars were responsible for the peace of their zemindaris, there was in existence a feudal system, the headmen of the villages holding them on quit-rent terms and rendering service in the form of police road patrols, and this system was continued when Government assumed the responsibility of policing the

district There can be no doubt that the Bhumij are an offshoot of the Munda race which probably separated from the main body at no distant date and were converted to Hinduism, being given the status of a cultivator caste The old tribal gods are, however, retained and are still worshipped in addition to the Hindu deities, though it is said the worship of the tribal gods is being relegated more and more to the women Brahmans are employed as family priests They are an interesting example of an aboriginal tribe in the process of assimilation to the Hindu social organisation

Marriage —As indicated above, the Bhumij are divided up into exogamous septs venerating different totems But they are beginning to forget the totems which the names of the sub-divisions denote and the names themselves will probably soon be abandoned for more aristocratic denominations

The bridal pair are " married " in the first instance to a Mohwa tree which may have the significance of a scapegoat, taking into itself all the ills and trials which might follow the union, or it may mean that each of the contracting parties is united to the tree spirit in whom and through whom they acquire a unity in marriage *Sindur* or red lead is also used in the ceremony which has probably the significance of a blood union

A bride-price is paid as among the Mundas and divorce usually consists in a repayment of the bride-price Rice beer is used in the celebration of marriages and in other religious ceremonies

Birth Ceremonies —These approximate to those general among the Hindus

Death Ceremonies —The Bhumij retain the ancestral gravestone system of their cousins the Mundas, bodies being cremated and selected bones being buried under the stone of the ancestor The graveyard itself is in the village of the head of the sept and an effort is made to take back for interment the bones of a Bhumij who has died in foreign parts

Festivals —The Bhumij keep the Hindu festivals but at the same time hold *parabs* such as the *Maghe* and *Sohrae* which have already been described among the Mundas (q v)

CHERO —

The Cheros are probably a sub-tribe of the Kols, but have entirely separated from them and rank as a separate tribe They are found in the hilly country to the south of the Districts of Mirzapur and Shahabad (Arrah) and along a continuation of the same range through the district of Gaya, through Palamau to Giridih, in Hazaribagh Their own tradition of their origin is that Kesho Narayan Singh, a Bundya Rajput and Raja of Garhgunti in Bundelkand was blessed with an only daughter whose horoscope showed that she could only wed a Mimi, or one to all intents and purposes dead The Raja determined to take her to some holy shrine and there offer her to the first Mimi he could find In the course of his search he came to the living tomb of the very pious Mimi Charman Rishi The Raja immediately called for spade and shovel and unearthed the Mimi to whom he made over his daughter From this marriage sprang the race of Cheros Their son was Chet Rae who expelled the Rathnam monarch of the country whose descendants were chiefs in South Behar They certainly entered the district of Palamau in 1612 A D and ruled the district for nearly two hundred years, when they were expelled by the British Their tradition of their origin is clearly a comparatively modern Brahmanical attempt to bring them into the community of Rajputs, but they appear to have been a vigorous section of the Dravidians, representing probably a group who turned on the advancing Aryans and held them at bay, preserving their independent status They have, at least in Chota Nagpur, intermarried with pure Hindu families In Palamau they are divided into two sub-tribes, Barahhazar and Terahhazar South of the Son river they have two exogamous sections, Mahto and Chandhari, also called Nagbangshi and Pandobangshi One observer states that the sections are —Kol, Chero, Hardaha, Kariha, Panariha, Kutaha and Sindmaha If this is correct it shows clearly the origin of the tribe The Census returns divided them into the following sections —Bardbansi, Bardhan, Bambansi, Gaya, Khar and Surajbansi Their exogamy is also somewhat doubtful; until

recently they certainly intermarried with Bhuiyas, who now say they have given up intermarriage with Cheros since they took to intermarrying with Kols South of the Son it is generally stated that Cheros and Bhuiyas are the same

From all this confusion it would appear that the Cheros are now in process of caste-formation, that they are nearly allied to other aboriginals residing near them and that the lines of demarcation between them and their neighbours are by no means clear Adverting to our theory of the great retreat from the Gangetic plain, it would appear that a heterogeneous mass of peoples, identical in origin, but who had lived for long periods in independent communities became huddled together on the rocky slopes of the northern edge of the plateau where they first found protection from the advancing Aryans, and the resultant tangle has not yet been straightened out

Religion —Their chief deities are *Sani*, a vague form sometimes known as *Devi*, *Sitala*, the goddess of small-pox, and the *Dih*, or aggregate of village gods, which are worshipped by both men and women

Fowls, goats and pigs are sacrificed to the spirits For their special worship in the Hindu form they employ Sarwariya Brahmans who are of a low type The worship of the village gods is done by a Baiga of their own tribe, and this local priest is usually president of the village council Among the eastern branches there is a custom of a triennial tribal sacrifice, which, however, is not current in Shahabad or Mirzapore Ancestor worship is fairly well established and there is an ineradicable belief in witchcraft and the potency of demons Disease is popularly believed to be due to the influence of demons, and people are particularly cautious to destroy cuttings of hair, nails, etc , lest they should come into the hands of witches, who would thus obtain control of their victims (*vide* Chapter III " Contagious Magic ")

Birth Ceremonies —These approximate to those current among Hindus, but on each occasion they sacrifice to Durga Devi and the collective village gods, cocks, hens, pigs, goats and liquor constitute the offerings which are made by the village Baiga

Marriage —There are three varieties of marriage :—

(1) *Charhanwar* which is the respectable form,

(2) *Dola* which is used by poor people and in which the ceremonies are performed at the house of the bridegroom, and

(3) *Sagai* for widows

Funeral Ceremonies—Are a mixture of Hindu and Dravidian and similar to those described under the *KOLS*

Cheros as a class are cultivators but most are very poor and subsist on casual labour or as agricultural servants Their condition in parts is like that of the Bhuiya bondslaves or *Kamias* against which the Government of Behar and Orissa have recently legislated.

THE HOS (also called *LARKA* (or fighting) *KOLS AND HO MUNDAS*) :—

As has already been indicated, the Hos are very nearly allied to the Mundas and Santhals Their language differs from that of the Mundas principally in the elision of the middle *r*, the word Ho meaning *man* and being the same word as the Mundari *Horo* and the Santali *Hor* They are found almost exclusively in the District of Singhbhum, headquarters Chaibassa and numbers 440,000 during the last census

The tradition of the Hos regarding their own origin bears a striking similarity to that of the Mundas Ote Boram, the earth god and Singbonga, the sun god, were self created, they made the earth, and clothed it with grass and trees, and then created animals. Finally a boy and a girl were created, who were placed in a cave at the bottom of a great ravine Finding them to be too innocent to give hope of progeny, Singhbonga instructed them in the art of making *illi* (rice beer) and then the world became peopled When the first parents had produced twelve boys and twelve girls, Singhbonga prepared a feast of the flesh of buffalos, bullocks, goats, sheep, pigs, fowls and vegetables, and, making the brothers and sisters pair off, told each pair to take what they most relished and

depart The first and second pair took bullock's and buffalo's flesh and they originated the Hos and the Bhumij, the next took of the vegetables only, and were the progenitors of the Brahmans and Kshatriyas, others took goat and fish and from them are descended the Sudras One pair took the shell-fish and became Bhuiyas, two pairs took pig and became Santhals, one pair got nothing, seeing which the first pair gave them of their superfluity and from the pair thus provided sprang the Ghasis, who toil not, but live by preying on others The Hos have now assigned to the English the honour of descent from the elder of the first two pairs.*

The Hos of Singhbhum are physically a finer people than the Bhumij, the Santals or any other of the Kolarian speakers and exhibit much variety in features Dalton thinks they have a considerable admixture of Aryan blood

The Hos are believed to have entered the southern tracts of Singhbhum from the Chota Nagpur plateau—it should be mentioned that though Singhbhum is part of Chota Nagpur, it is not on the plateau, but covers the plains and foothills south of District Ranchi Here they successfully maintained their independence against the Chota Nagpur Expedition of 1770 defeating an army of 20,000 men, and repulsing an invasion by a Mayurbhanj chief in 1800 The British relations with Singhbhum date from 1767 when an expedition against the Raja of Dhalbhoom was undertaken In 1821 the Hos were reduced to submission after several campaigns, but soon broke the treaty, joining the rebellion of the Chota Nagpur Mundas in 1831 This was followed by another rising in 1832 as a result of which the *Kolhan* was annexed and has remained as a Government estate ever since The peace of the district was, however, broken during the Mutiny of 1857, and was again affected by the Birsa rebellion of 1900 †

Religion —The religion of the Hos is Animism (q v) with a belief in two benign supreme beings, the Earth God and Sun God As among the Mundas, in each village is a *Jabira* or *sarna* (sacred grove) in which resides Desauli, the protecting spirit of the

* Dalton

† O'Malley Gazetteer of Singhbhum

village In their homes the Hos worship the spirits of their ancestors which are considered to be earth-bound in their old haunts The spirits of those killed by tigers are supposed to remain in the jungles and are transformed into tigers Illness is regarded as due to the malign influence of some *bonga* which may be averted by propitiation The practice of consuling *Sokhas* as witch-finders is also current.

Tribal Organisation—The Hos are divided into Septs or *Kilis*, some of which are identical with the Kilis found among the Mundas and Santals The commonest are —

Sinkoi,
Paraya,
Banra,
Barpai,
Hembaram,
Gagria,
Hera,
Kuntia.

A man of one *Kili* must marry a woman of another, and there are also certain social or class distinctions, *e g*, men of good position are sometimes outcasted because either they or their fathers have made a misalliance by marrying a woman of low rank

The Kolhan is divided up into *Pirs* each under a Manki and the village is under a Munda or Headman The village community as described among the Mundas also persists in a degree Property belongs to the family and not to the individual, sons share equally on the death of the father, but women cannot hold property except when they have no male relatives, widows and unmarried daughters are, however, entitled to maintenance In default of kin, lands go back to the village community

Marriage—Is governed by the ordinary rules of exogamy, the septs being exogamous, but must be within the tribe Marriages are of two kinds; one is purely and simply marriage by capture, the young man carrying off the girl from some dance or *hat* in spite of any resistance, real or feigned, that she may make.

In this case the bride-price has to be settled later and it may readily be imagined that the aggrieved father cannot always realise as much as his dignity demands There is no difference as between the two sorts of marriage as regards the legitimacy of the children but the regular ceremonial marriage is held in higher estimation Regular marriages are arranged by formal deputations of friends of the families concerned and a bride-price is fixed On the day fixed for the ceremony, the bride is escorted to the village of the bridegroom and the party is met outside the village boundary The bride and bridegroom enter the village together straddled on the hips of two of their female friends and a great feast is held with a mighty consumption of beer A cup of rice beer is given to the man and to the woman, the groom pours some of the contents of his cup into that of the bride and she returns the compliment and they formally pledge one another By this act the bride is admitted into her husband's Killi and they become one There is no other ceremony

Birth Ceremonies —During labour, the husband climbs on to the roof of his house where he sacrifices a cock to Singbonga, having locked his wife up by herself in the house When he hears the cry of the new born babe he descends and cuts the umbilical cord Ceremonial impurity follows for a period, on the expiration of which a feast is given, the head of the child being shaved and a name selected A grain of paddy is thrown into a vessel of water and the name pronounced, if the grain of paddy sinks the name is rejected, but if it floats it is adopted

Funeral Ceremonies —Bodies are cremated in coffins in front of the house of the deceased and a few of the charred bones are carefully preserved, the remainder, with the ashes, being buried The selected bones are placed in a vessel of earthenware and hung up in the apartment of the chief mourner The bones are finally buried under a *burial stone* A monolith is raised to commemorate the deceased The Ho does not bury under an ancestral tomb stone as does his Munda cousin

Festivals —The year passes for the Hos in a succession of *parabs* or festivals very similar to what we find among the

Mundas, to which article reference should also be made These are the Maghe Parab, Ba-parab or flower festival and the Sohrae, besides the minor agricultural feasts already described among the Mundas In May, a tribal hunt is organised on a very large scale and many animals are slaughtered

KOL (Of Rewah and the Central and United Provinces) —

During the last Census 26,000 were enumerated in Mirzapur In the Central Provinces 259,304 were found They are clearly connected with the Munda group and probably early separated from the main body in the great southward trek before the advancing Aryans As previously pointed out *H* readily mutates to *K* and *R* to *L* and *Kol* is probably a variant of *Horo* which in Mundari is the word for *man* *Kola* in Sanskrit means a "hog" and according to Lane the tribal designation is merely a term of contempt applied to the aboriginals by the Aryans.

Traditions of Origin —According to one legend, Yayati, the fifth King of the Lunar race divided his Empire among his five sons The offspring of his son Turvasu settled in the South and the tenth generation from him inclusive, consisting of four brothers, Pandya, Korala, Chola and Kola divided the Empire they had inherited The descendants of Kola are the present Kols * This is, no doubt, a Brahmanical story attempting to make them akin to the Rajputs, but is interesting as showing they have no memory of their relationship with the Kolarian speakers They have entirely lost their aboriginal language and speak the local *patois* of Hindi.

They seem also to have shed the elaborate system of totemistic septs which is found among the Mundas, and are divided into a number of *endogamous* septs, such as the Rantiya, or Rantel They are also known as Dahait and have another sub-division, the Mahtiyan, with whom they marry on equal terms, Thakuriya, Banaj, Phariya, Barwar, Bin, Harwariya, Rajwariya and Hanriyanwa are other sub-divisions They have a tribal council on which only the heads of families have a seat, and which decides questions relating to marriage and morality and meets when the brethren

* Crooke.

assemble at marriages and funeral feasts They have lost, too, all recollection of Singh Bonga revered by the Mundas, but bow before Suraj Narayan the Sun God, when leaving the house in the morning They have, however, retained their fear of demons and sprites and the souls of the dead and propitiate them with sacrifice Through the village *Baiga* or priest they worship the aggregate of the local gods There are special Kol deities, Gansam, protector of crops, who is worshipped by the Baiga with offerings of fowls, goats, young pigs and oblations of liquor, the Nag or snake-god, the Baghaut or tiger-ghost, Rakshal and Phulmati Devi who are the local protectors of men and cattle Ancestors are worshipped whenever there is a tribal feast, a fowl being offered and a little liquor spilled on the ground The fowl is consumed by the worshippers

Disease is supposed to be due to demoniacal influence and the Ojha is called in to define the offended demon and present suitable offerings

Marriage —The sub-divisions are endogamous but they do not intermarry so long as any relationship between the parties is remembered, or into the family of the maternal grandfather or father's sister They generally marry in the months of Magh, Phalgun, Baisakh and Jeth and like most Hindus will not marry in the dark fortnight of the month A bride-price is paid and polygamy practised by those who can afford it, widows may re-marry

At the wedding feast the important part of the ceremony consists in the application of red lead (sindur) on the parting of the bride's hair A legal form of marriage by capture, the *udhar*, also survives

At births, there is an elementary form of the *couvade* in the theory that the husband is impure, as well as his wife, he sits apart and cooks for her, and receives a sip of the purifying draught which is administered to her The child is named usually in the sixth month, when it is first fed on grain (anna prasanna) They do not seem to have any form of ordeal in selecting the name, but the child is generally named after some deceased ancestor, whose spirit is supposed to be embodied in the infant.

Death Ceremonies—The dying person is taken outside the house and laid on the ground The Kols have abandoned the funeral rites of their Munda cousins and do not erect commemorative monoliths People dying of Cholera or Small-pox are thrown into a river, the bodies of unweaned children are buried but otherwise cremation of a more or less perfunctory order is practised Some of the ashes are laid on the floor of the house of the deceased, and the man who fixes the pyre goes about with a brass vessel and a piece of iron in his hand

Festivals —The Kols now observe the usual Hindu festivals (*vide* Hinduism) having abandoned the regular tribal festivals of the Mundas They keep the Phagua and drink much liquor

Occupation —Most Kols are ploughmen, a few have land of their own The more primitive Kols cultivate by *jhuming*

JUANG :—

This small tribe numbering some 12,000 in all is found in the Dhen Kanal and Keonjhar Feudatory States They speak a language which has been classified as Kolarian and which resembles Kharia, it has borrowed largely from Uriya The women tatoo their faces with the same marks as are used by the Kharia and Munda women—three strokes on the forehead just above the nose and three on each temple They swear on earth taken from an ant-hill and on a tiger skin. The Kharias hold the ant-hill sacred and the oath on the tiger skin is common among Hos and Santals

The Juangs claim to have had their origin in Keonjhar and trace their descent on the male side to a race of celestial beings who danced with the leaf-clad daughters of men, and took some of them to wife (cf. Genesis VI 4) When Colonel Dalton visited them in 1860, he wrote —" The females had not amongst them a particle of clothing Their sole covering for purposes of decency consisted in a girdle composed of several strings of beads, from which depended before and behind small curtains of leaves Adam and Eve sewed fig leaves together and made themselves aprons The Juangs are not so far advanced, they take young shoots of

the Asan or any tree with long soft leaves and simply stick th sprigs in the girdle fore and aft" *They have a tradition that th* goddess of the Rutarni tribe came suddenly upon a party of Juang dancing naked and ordering them to adopt leaves as a covering laid on them a curse that they must adhere to that custom for eve or die In 1870 the curse was removed by Captain F J Johnston who had gained great influence with the tribe and persuaded then to adopt cotton clothing

There are no sub-tribes, but the Juangs are divided up intc exogamous totemistic septs Marriage within certain degrees of relationship is also prohibited Girls are not married till they are adults, and as usual where courtship is free among aboriginals, considerable pre-marital license is tolerated A cartload of paddy is the usual bride-price, but there appears to be no wedding ceremony except the sprinkling of rice and turmeric on the heads of the bridal pair Polygamy is permitted without limits theoretically, but, says Colonel Dalton, no Juang has ventured on more than two wives at a time A widow may marry again, and is expected, though not compelled to marry her deceased husband's younger brother Divorce is permitted, with the sanction of the *panchaiyat* for adultery, disobedience, scolding and barrenness

The Juangs appear to be free from the belief in witchcraft, the scourge of most other Dravidian aboriginals They have in their own language no word for "god," for "heaven" nor "hell" They offer fowls to the Sun when in distress, an old man officiating as priest, who is called the "Nagan" This may be the same word as the Mundari "*Najom*" which means the familiar of a malevolent godling (*vide* under *Mundas*) They worship also a priest deity called Baram, a village spirit Thanpati who is known also to the Savaras, and of late certain gods have begun to be adopted from the Hindu pantheon, such as Siva, Durga and Balabhadra. Brahmans have not yet been introduced and all religious functions are performed by the *dehari or village priest*

Juangs bury their dead, the ashes being left at the place of cremation or cast into a running stream A few days after death

a meagre propitiatory ceremony is performed at which the maternal uncle of the deceased officiates as priest

Offerings to departed ancestors are made in October when the autumn rice crop is harvested

Occupation —Agriculture is believed to be the original occupation of the tribe, who cultivate by *jhuming* which is also practised by the Savaras Forest trees are destroyed by ring-barking and burning and a crop is raised by scratching the earth and sowing in the ashes The Juangs subsist largely on jungle roots and pay no rent to the Raja, being under the obligation to serve *begari* instead They drink heavily but do not know the secret of distilling nor even of brewing rice beer They do not emigrate much, but it may be possible to persuade them to do so more freely in the near future as they become less timid

KHARIA —

A Dravidian cultivating tribe of Chota Nagpur and the vicinity, classed on linguistic grounds as Kolarian One of their traditions is that they succeeded the Oraons as settlers in the country between Rohtasgarh and Patna, while another says their original home was in Mayurbhanj of which State they and the Purans were the first inhabitants, being born there from a pea-fowl's egg—the Purans from the white, the Kharias from the shell and the family of the Chief (Bhanj) from the yolk. Thence they made their way up the valley of the Koel into the south-western corner of the Ranchi District In the last Census they numbered 41,500 in Ranchi, 39,000 in Manbhum, 35,000 in the Feudatory States and 14,000 in Assam

They are divided into four sub-tribes —(1) Dholk-Kharia, (2) Dud-Kharia, (3) Erenga-Kharia and (4) Munda-Khariya The Dud-Kharia affect a leaning towards Hinduism and do not eat beef, the Munda-Kharia are supposed to be the offspring of an intrigue with a Munda woman Kharias speak of the Mundas as elder brothers and Kharia women are sometimes taken in marriage by Mundas, but a Munda girl is never given in marriage to a Kharia Each sub-tribe is divided into septs of the usual totemistic Dravidian type, which are exogamous Beyond the circle defined by the sept

name, the ideas of the Khariyas on the subject of consanguineous marriages are said to be lax and on the maternal side a man is forbidden merely to marry his aunts, his nieces and his first cousins They do not apparently find it necessary to prohibit marriage with one's grandmother! Girls are married after they have attained puberty though infant marriage is becoming the fashion among the richer members of the tribe with leanings towards Hinduism Marriages must be performed in Magh (January/February) and a bride-price is paid of from one to ten head of cattle The essential of the marriage ceremony consists in five bundles of straw being placed on the ground, with the yoke of a plough laid on them The bride and bridegroom stand facing one another on the yoke, and the bridegroom smears vermillion on the bride's forehead and the parting of her hair, while she makes a small round spot of the same colour on his forehead A feast follows during which the bride washes a cloth in hot water, in token apparently, of her willingness to do any form of household work

Widow marriage is permitted by the *Sagai* form, which consists in the presentation by the bridegroom to the widow bride of a cloth The widow is expected to marry her deceased husband's younger brother, but is not compelled to do so Divorce is permitted on repayment of the bride-price

Daughters do not inherit, but sons all share the father's property, the eldest getting two shares

Religion —The religion of the Kharias is a mixture of Animism and nature worship At the head of their system is Bar Pahar (great mountain spirit) to whom buffalos, rams and cocks are offered, but he brings neither good nor evil to mankind He has no Kharia name and has probably been borrowed from the Mundas or Oraons The "working deities" are the following —

(1) Dorho Dubo, lord of the springs—Pigs, goats and red fowls are offered to him

(2) Nasan Dubo, god of destruction, who is to be propitiated with sacrifices of chickens

(3) Giring Dubo or Bero, the Sun, who is a malevolent deity in contrast to the benevolent Singh Bonga or Sun

God of the Mundas and the Hos He must be propitiated at least five times in a life time by each family The first offering being a fowl, next a pig, third a white goat, fourth a ram and fifth a buffalo The sacrifice must be made on an ant-hill as an altar

(4) Jiolo Dubo, the moon, propitiated by the sacrifice of a black cock

(5) Pat Dubo, god of rocky places—offering, a grey goat, or reddish brown fowls

(6) Donga Darha—a hill god—offering, a white goat

(7) Mahadan another Hill God to whom rams are sacrificed.

(8) Gumi, the god of the Sarna, a sacred grove which serves as a temple for most aboriginal deities—offering, a sow

(9) Agin Darha, protector of crops, who needs a white goat

(10) Kara Sonna, the god of cattle disease, who requires a buffalo as a propitiatory sacrifice

The Kharias have priests of their own named Kalo whose office is hereditary. For the purpose of the propitiation of the local village deities, the services of a Munda family are retained, the Mundas having been in most cases the first inhabitants of the sites on which the villages have been built

Funeral Ceremonies —There is a curious distinction made between the bodies of married and unmarried people,—the former being burned and the latter buried When cremation is resorted to, the bones and ashes are put into an earthen pot with some parched rice and thrown into a deep pool or rocky chasm or tank in the village in which the deceased ranked as a *bhuihar* or original clearer If the *bhuihari* village is not known, the ashes may be put into the village in which deceased resided, but in that case a feast is to be given to the *bhuihars* and a present to the landlord A tall slab of stone is set up near his house before which early oblations are supposed to be offered in order to appease his spirit and avert the danger of his returning to trouble the living

Occupation.—The Kharias are good cultivators and are constantly reclaiming land in the jungles of Chota Nagpur and in the Gangpur Feudatory State. They make good tea garden labour. The Kharias of the hill ranges of Mayurbhanj and residing in Dalma in Manbhum are very wild and cultivate by the destructive method of *jhuming* (*vide* under Juang and Savara).

Festivals.—The year is one continuous round of *parabs*, when the tribal gods are worshipped and magico-religious ceremonies enacted for the protection of crops. In Ranchi they join in with all the Munda and Oraon festivals and allow the same license at these periods as their neighbours. The *Ind parab* in July is popular when they dance all night round a sort of maypole, probably of phallic origin, and intended to ensure bountiful rains.

BIR HOR.—(Lit. in Mundari—jungle-man). Numbered last Census 1,500. They claim to be of the same race as the Kharwars and are found in small numbers in the Ranchi District and in the adjoining Native States. They live in the jungles in tiny huts made of branches of trees and leaves and eke out a miserable living by snaring hares and monkeys and collecting jungle products. They make and sell a coarse kind of rope from the bark of the *chob* creeper.

In spite of their apparently wild ways, they have come under the influence of Hinduism and their religion is a mixture of Animism and Hinduism. They give the chief place in their Pantheon to Devi and regard their animistic godlings as her daughters and grand-daughters.

The marriage ceremony is simple and interesting; it consists in drawing blood from the little fingers of the bride and bridegroom and smearing it on each of them. The tribe is divided into totemistic exogamous septs.

Funeral ceremonies are also simple, bodies being cremated and the ashes thrown into a stream.

There has been some emigration to Tea Gardens where the Bir Hor makes quite a good coolie. They are a landless class and may, in the future, emigrate in larger numbers.

KORKU :—

A Kolarian speaking Dravidian tribe akin to the Korwas numbering about 150,000 persons in the Central Provinces and Berar, they belong to the Satpura plateau, residing only in the Hoshangabad, Nimar, Betul and Chhindwara Districts Some Korkus or Mowasis belong to Chota Nagpur Their word for *man* is *Koru* (compare Mundari *Horo*), the plural termination being *Ku* (Mundari *Ko*).

According to their own traditions Mahadeo made images of a man and a woman out of a handful of red earth from an ant-hill at the request of Rawan, the demon King of Ceylon who had asked that the Satpura and Vindhya ranges should be populated Two fiery steeds sent by Indra destroyed the images as often as they were made, till Mahadeo made an image of a dog into which he breathed life and the dog kept off the horses of Indra Mahadeo then made images of a man and a woman, and, giving them human life, he named them Mula and Mulai, with the surname of Pothse, and these two became the ancestors of the Korku tribe Mahadeo taught them cultivation and obtained for them seed, impressing into his service Bhimsen and the pig Buddu who are now worshipped by the Korkus as godlings

The landowning members of the tribe have formed a sub-division of their own called Raj-Korku, while in some cases a spurious Rajput ancestry has been invented, in a manner very similar to that of the Nagbangshi Mundas The remainder of the tribe were called *Potharia* or those to whom a certain dirty habit has been imputed These divisions are now growing obsolete and are being supplanted by four sub-castes with territorial names, *viz* — Mowasi, Bawaria, Ruma and Bondoya

Mr Crosthwaite writes of them —" Four-fifths of the Korkus have been so affected by the spread of Brahmanical influence as to have ceased to differ in any marked way from the Hindu element in the population, and the Korku has become so civilized as to have learnt to be ashamed of being a Korku " Each sub-caste has traditionally thirty-six exogamous septs, but the numbers have now increased.

The sept names are generally taken from those of plants and animals and were, no doubt, originally totemistic, but the Korkus now say that the names are derived from trees in or behind which the ancestors of each sept took refuge after being defeated in a great battle.

Marriage between members of the same sept and between first cousins is prohibited A bride-price is paid and averages about sixty rupees, considerably higher than among the Mundas The ceremony itself resembles that of the Hindus, but has one or two special features The bridegroom is carried to a heap of stones representing Mutua Deo and then the Bhumka or priest sacrifices chickens to the sylvan deities The boy and his parents sit at the foot of a *ber* or wild plum tree and are tied to it with a thread while the Bhumka spills the blood of a fowl on the roots of the tree and invokes the sun and moon

This may be a modification of the marriage to a tree which we noticed among other tribes The bridal couple are seated in a shed and covered with a blanket on to which water is poured to symbolise the fertilising influence of rain The groom ties a necklace of beads on to the bride's neck, their clothes are tied together and they proceed to make an offering to Mutua Deo

Marriage is usually adult, and polygamy is freely practised by those who can afford it, widow marriage is allowed and divorce may be effected by the simple proclamation of the fact to the *panchayat* or caste assembly

The Korkus consider themselves Hindus, as they worship the sun and moon as also Mahadeo "In truth, however," says Russell "their religion like that of many low Hindu castes, is almost purely animistic" The local godlings who are believed to regulate the happenings of a Korku's daily life, are propitiated with great fervour The three most important village deities are Dongar Deo, the god of the hills, who resides on the nearest hill outside the village and is worshipped at Dasahra, Mutua Deo, who is represented by a heap of stones within the village and receives a pig for a sacrifice, and Mata, the goddess of small-pox

The Bhumka is the village priest who performs the regular sacrifices and the special ones entailed by disease or other calamities, one of his dangerous duties is keeping tigers out of the boundaries! The office is usually hereditary

The tribe is much addicted to the practice of magic and much resort is made to the practice on all sorts of occasions To injure an enemy, a clay image is made and struck with a knife, or buried in a place where it is likely the victim will walk over it In order to produce a quarrel the quills of a porcupine are smoked with the burnt parings of an enemy's nails and deposited in the thatch of his house

The dead are usually buried, two pice being first thrown into the grave to buy the site and a ceremony is performed to signify the admission of the deceased to the community of his ancestors, a final *requiescat* ceremony called the Sedoli being performed later Rudely carved stakes are erected *in memoriam*

The Korkus lived formerly by hunting and practised jhuming which is now forbidden by an enlightened Government They now are in great demand as farm servants and ploughmen though few have attained to the status of landholders

ASUR —

A small non-Aryan tribe found in the Ranchi District and in Gangpur and Jashpur, also known as *Agaria* and *Lohra* They live almost entirely by iron smelting, but will take up agricultural labour on occasions, especially the women

Little is known of their religion, but they probably worship Singbonga of the Mundas, they also worship the great hills under various names They are divided into thirteen exogamous totemistic septs

The tribe is interesting particularly because Dalton seemed inclined to identify it with the Asurs of the Munda legend The Asurs were according to the Mundas, a powerful tribe of iron workers who were destroyed by Singbonga and it is thought the legend represents a memory of a race of superior civilisation which

was conquered by the Mundas This point will be dealt with in discussing the Pans (q v)

SANTAL (Spelt also *Sonthal, Saonthar*) —

This tribe is perhaps the most widely distributed of the Munda group being found in the Santal Parganas (670,000), Hazaribagh (100,000), Manbhum (240,000), Dhalbhoom Pargana of Singhbhum (Chaibassa) (95,000), Bankura (74,000), Midnapore (100,000), Orissa States (240,000), Sambalpur (5,000) and in the Districts of Monghyr, Birbhum and Bhagalpur which adjoin the Santal Parganas on the North and East (84,000) were enumerated in Assam Their own traditions are that they are of North-Western origin and were for a long time settled under their own King in Rohtas in the Arrah District and in the Champa Pergana of Hazaribagh Doubtless this is a memory of their recent trek before the advancing Aryans, as pointed out in Chapter VI, the tribe having retained no remembrance of that earlier period of their advance into India from the South-west and their spread over the newly formed lands of the Gangetic plain Their legendary origin is similar to that of the Mundas and Hos, starting with the creation they tell of the coming into existence of the first human pair born from the egg of a goose and of how, having been taught to brew and drink rice beer they begat seven sons and seven daughters who ended in marrying one another "whereupon the human race greatly multiplied, but also became very wicked" * Singh Bonga, the great Sun God, decided to exterminate the race, sparing only one holy pair, who were ordered to enter a cave in a mountain For seven days and seven nights it rained fire so that all the rest of mankind and all animals were destroyed After the rain of fire ceased, the pair came out and a new human race sprang from them, animal life being recreated After a series of wanderings they settled down in Champa It is possible these stories are a dim echo of some great natural cataclysm, such as is hinted at in Chapter VI.

The Santali language is very nearly allied to the Mundari and differs from it in having a greater range of checks, which are sometimes almost "clicks" and in having an "r," which is utterly

* O'Malley

unpronouncable even by a Scot They call themselves Horko (Mundari *Horoko*) The language is very flexible, particularly the verb and the minutest shades of meaning may be expressed For instance, there is a verbal termination-*Lena* which signifies *completion* or a return to the former state of things *Heclena* means " he came and has gone back again ", *Goc lena* " he died and rose again " The vocabulary is very rich and the language is on the whole the most difficult of the Kolarian dialects, but a knowledge of Santali repays the student as it leads to a natural understanding of Ho and Mundari The Santals say of the Mundas and particularly of the Hos that they talk like babies, the absence of the sound in Mundari and the elision of the medial r in Ho giving these languages a similarity to the first efforts at speech of their own children The Santals have borrowed largely from Aryan languages all their words expressing abstract ideas, the original tongue being essentially an expression of concrete ideas.

The Santal Perganas are divided up into groups of villages, under a " Pergana " or " Perganait," each village being under a headman called a *Majhi* Santals in speaking of themselves to strangers usually call themselves *Majhi* The Majhi is the village spokesman and is the master of ceremonies at all festivals The spirits of departed ancestors are considered to be earth-bound and reside in the *Majhi Than* At the principal parabs, the Majhi calls upon these spirits in a sort of " bidding-prayer," naming them and calling upon them to be present Thus the names of the whole succession of the village forefathers are frequently recited and some thing approximating to ancestor worship prevails There are many traces of the communal system In *Magh* (January-February) the village people gather together after a sacrifice in which all partake, the villagers surrender their lands to the headman and the village officials surrender their offices one to another After a few days everything is formally given back and taken again The villagers sitting as a *panch* are also the final authority in disputes

The Santals are divided up into totemistic septs or Kilis as are the Mundas, and the septs are chiefly exogamous A curious office

is that of the Jog-manjhi who acts as a moral censor, the word *Jog* being of Sanskrit derivation and signifying *morals* He is responsible for the avoiding of scandals rather than for the prevention of immorality as the word is understood in Europe As among other aboriginals, sexual relations before marriage are very free, it being understood that marriage follows conception It is part of the duty of the Jog-manjhi to see that irregular *liaisons* are regularised into marriage when necessary

The *Naeke* is the village priest who actually performs all public sacrifices and propitiates the village gods

Religion —The religion of the Santals is Animism, there being besides a great god, Thakur, who is good and is, therefore, not propitiated The rest of the godlings or *bongas* are all malevolent and demand a life for a life Sickness which is due to a *bonga* feeding on the life of the patient, may be cured by an offering of a suitable life in exchange by sacrifice The Bongas inhabit the *jaher than* or *sarna*, the sacred grove, left standing as their abode when the primeval forest was cleared Each family has its household gods, and *Abga Bongas* or secret gods, whose names are handed down from father to son Belief in witchcraft is still prevalent and human sacrifices were offered till quite recent times An *ojha* or soothsayer is consulted to discover witches and wizards, the familiars of the malevolent bongas

Marriage —Marriage within the *Killi* is abhorrent, it is usually adult, being arranged by the purchase of a bride Marriage by service of the Jacob-Rachel type is not uncommon, the prospective bridegroom working without wages for five years for his bride. When a girl becomes pregnant by a man who is unable to marry her, *e g*, because he belongs to the same *Killi*, he is bound to buy her a husband whose consent is secured by giving him enough to make it worth while Marriage by capture is quite common among the Santals, the young man capturing the woman of his fancy and smearing her forehead with red lead (sindur) or a substitute, if he succeeds in doing this, the marriage is believed to be valid

Widows are allowed to marry again, but the bride price is only half that customary for an unmarried girl There are clear survivals of fraternal polyandry, younger brothers frequently sharing

the wife of the elder brother, and marrying her in case of decease of the husband A woman's younger sisters too have a right to share her husband, but elder brothers and elder sisters do not have the same privileges as regards the spouses of their younger relatives. Divorce is usual among aboriginals and consists in returning the bride-price unless the husband is adjudged to be in fault.

Birth Ceremonies —After a birth the village becomes ceremonially unclean and no sacrifice and consequently no festival can be held until the purification ceremony All the males of the village are shaved in the house of the birth and finally the new born babe is shaved, and named

Funeral Ceremonies —Cremation near water is the custom and is accompanied by the sacrifice of a fowl While the body is being consumed, the people are shaved After cremation, certain bones are selected and placed in a funeral urn with a hole in the cover so that the spirit which occupies the man may breathe, the rest of the bones and ashes being cast into the water The urn is later carried across the village boundary and brought back to the house of the heir and hung up, to be taken later on to the Damoodar River at a convenient season

Festivals —The chief festival is the Sohrae or harvest festival Many fowls are sacrificed and much rice beer drunk Cattle are teased and excited and dancing continues for five days The utmost license is permitted, and a joint feast is held in the house of the Jog Manjhi on the termination of the festival, rice beer is drunk ceremonially and " purity " is re-established

The *Sakrat* is held on the last day of Pans when men fish and go out hunting and war games and dances are arranged

The *Baha* or flower festival is held in Phalgun (February/March) The village deities are propitiated and venerated amid much frolic and drinking, eating and dancing This is carried on for three days

The other festivals are mainly agricultural, *e g* , the *Brok-Sim* at the time of sowing which is intended to ensure a good crop;

Hanai-Sim when the rice first sprouts, *Iragnudli Nawai* or the offering of the first harvest fruits, and the *Janthai Puja* when the first of the winter crops are garnered *Nagh Sim* is held when the jungle grass is cut and probably is meant to propitiate deities who might have been disturbed In short a *parab* is arranged on any and every occasion

The Santals seem altogether to have lost the burial customs which are such a distinguishing feature of the Mundas, Hos and Bhumij As will have been noticed, their customs have come much under the influence of Hinduism and the Kharwar movement of 1880 was undoubtedly occasioned by the impact of newly realised Hindu influences on the ancient régime This movement is not yet dead and is not entirely without resemblance to the *Tana Bhagat* movement among the Uraons already described (Chapter III) The influence of Christianity is also being felt in a somewhat similar way

The regular occupation of this tribe is agriculture, they are magnificent cultivators and make excellent labour, acclimatising very readily on Tea Gardens They are, however, being attracted to the Coal Mines nearer their homes and make very good miners They prefer short-term labour to prolonged periods of absence from home, but are willing to emigrate if suitable opportunities for the acquisition of land are held out to them A very large settlement are to be found in the neighbourhood of Dhubri where they were transplanted under the influence of the Mission

SAVARA (*Saura, Sowra*) —(Contributed by Mr J Buchanan)

'The Savara or Sowra is a Dravidian cultivating and more or less servile tribe inhabiting the hills of Orissa, Chota Nagpur, Western Bengal, Madras, Ganjam and the Central Provinces On Linguistic grounds certain authorities are inclined to place this tribe amongst the Kolarian group The language, however, yields only meagre and inconclusive evidence, while it may be considered tolerably certain that the Savaras scattered and partially hinduised as they are, represent the main body of an ancient race, an isolated fragment of which still survives in the *Male* or Sour of the Rajmahal Hills.

The Tribe at the present day is very widely diffused, and local tradition ascribes to the Savars, the conquest of the Cheros, and their expulsion from the Plateau of Shahabad in about the year 421 of the Salivahana era, or A D 500. A number of ancient monuments in the Shahabad district are still put down to the Savars or Suirs, who are supposed to have been driven south by the inroad of Rajputs under the Bhojpur Chief, which appears to have ended their rule

The Savara is said by some to be a descendant of the sons of Vismavitra, who were cursed to become impure by their Father for an act of disobedience There are certain legends in Sanskrit literature, with regard to their origin, and as these have a certain bearing on the religion practised by these people, it may not be out of place here to relate some of those which are more generally known

In the Aitareya Brahmana also, they are spoken of as the descendants of Vishmavitra, while in the Mahabarat they are said to have been created by Kamdhenu, Vashistha's wonder cow, in order to repel the aggression of Vishmavitra One authority states that Jara Savar was their original ancestor who was said to have shot Krishna in the form of a deer Another suggests that they were created for the purpose of carrying stones for the construction of the great temple at Puri, and for dragging the car of Jagannath, which certain sections of the tribe do even up to the present time in the performance of their religious ceremonies.

The following rather interesting legend is also related. In the beginning of creation Mahadeo wished to teach the people how to cultivate the ground, so he made a plough and took out his bull Nandi to yoke to it. But there was a dense forest on the earth, so he created a being whom he called a Savar, and gave him an axe to clear the forest In the meantime, Mahadeo went away to get another bullock The Savar after clearing the forest felt very hungry and finding nothing else to eat, killed Nandi and ate his flesh on a teak leaf, and for this reason the young teak leaves when rubbed give out sap which is the colour of blood After some time Mahadeo returned, and finding the forest well cleared was pleased with the Savar, and as a reward endowed him with the knowledge of all edible and medicinal roots and fruits of the forest.

But on looking round for Nandi he found him lying dead with some of his flesh cut off The Savar pleaded ignorance, but Mahadeo sprinkled a little water on Nandi who came to life again and told what had happened Mahadeo was then enraged with the Savar and cursed him saying "Ye will remain in the jungles with never enough to eat, scantily clothed, and occupying a servile position for the remainder of your days"

Appearance and Customs—In appearance the Savara man is rather small in stature, but strongly and sturdily built His physique is in every way superior to the Ooriya of the Plains He has a manly bearing and accustomed as he is to roaming the virgin forests and hunting, while living a life of absolute freedom, he is, as may be imagined, primitive, self-willed and independant to an extent seldom found in the Plains He undoubtedly shares many of the good and bad qualities of his cousin, the Munda, and in fact some authorities are of opinion that the two tribes are much more closely allied than has ever been proved. The languages spoken bear a certain similarity also, though this fact may not be considered as indicating relationship The womenfolk in certain parts are reported to wear but scanty, if any, clothing They garb themselves in a wreath of twigs and leaves supported by a string from the waist One case is reported of a Savara woman, who was persuaded to wear clothes In a short time, however, she took ill, and her friends insisted on a return to the former and more naked state She then recovered and on no other occasion could she or any other female members of her tribe be persuaded to conform to the more civilized conventions

The Savaras near Ganjam and Mehendragiri are small and wiry, dark in colour and sometimes quite black The hair is usually tied in a top knot and is sometimes cut short over the forehead, two long locks being permitted to hang over the ears They are of a happy and cheery disposition indulging much in dancing and sports of all kinds They are extremely superstitious and are of a very enquiring disposition

The weapons in use while hunting are mainly the axe and the bow and arrows and with these they are wonderfully accurate The arrow has also some religious significance, as will be seen in

the description of their marriage customs The bulk of the tribe have taken to cultivation and massed themselves in villages, but the Bendkhar Savara of Khannighar still adheres to the nomadic habits which their traditions describe In their natural state, the Savaras build their houses on a machan some two or three feet above the ground The houses are the usual " kutcha " type of bamboos and thatch It is further stated that in many cases they build their houses actually over the mountain torrents This they accomplish by throwing trees across the chasms, and their reason for selecting such sites is in order that they may quietly make their escape in the event of an attack by dropping through the floor of the house into the stream beneath and thence make their way into the jungle by devious paths The villages are usually built in the midst of vast jungles When selecting a site for a new house the Maliah Savars place on the proposed site as many grains of rice as there are married members of the family These are examined next day and if found undisturbed the house is built The Savaras are extremely illiterate and cannot or will not count above 12 It is said that on one occasion some cultivators were measuring up their crop and counted to 13 On that instant a tiger leapt on them and killed some of them and since then they have carefully avoided counting above 12 for fear of some similar calamity occurring

Religion —The Savars of Bankura having become thoroughly Hinduised, Brahmans serve them as Priests in the worship of the standard Gods, they offer up goats and fowls as sacrifices, at the hands of the elders of the community, who have not yet been supplanted in their offices by the professional Brahmans.

Sub-castes —

1 The Hill Savaras, the Jati Savaras or Malia Savaras consider themselves superior to the other divisions They will eat the flesh of a buffalo but not of a cow

2. Arsi, Arisi or Lombo Lanjiya Arsi means monkey and Lombo Lanjiya (Lumba Lanjia) meaning long-tailed is the name by which members of the section are called in reference to the long piece of cloth which the males allow to hang down behind.

3 The Luaia (Lohara) or Muli These are the workers in iron who make arrow heads and other articles

• 4 Kindal Basket makers, who manufacture rough baskets for holding grain

5 Jadu Said to be a name among the Savaras for the hill country beyond Kollakota and Puttasinghi It is considered possible, however, that this word may be the same as is used in most parts of Assam, indicating witchcraft

6 Kumbi or Potters These make the earthen vessels which are used for cooking, etc , and for use during religious festivals

7 Among the Uriya Savars each bharga has two further divisions of Joria and Khuntia—the Jhorias bury or burn their dead near a Jhor or brook and the Khuntias near a " Khunt " or old tree Jhorias and Khuntias do not intermarry

Marriage —A Savara seldom takes more than two wives though no actual limit is set as to the number of wives a man may take In Orissa (but not in Bankura), a widow may marry again but is ordinarily expected to marry her first husband's younger brother or cousin No compulsion, however, is exercised in the matter and she may marry anyone she pleases provided that she returns to her father's house and remains there unmarried for a year No regular ceremony is ordained for use on such occasions and the union is celebrated by a feast given to the relatives of both parties Divorce is permitted for adultery, and if the relatives find it impossible or inadvisable to effect a reconcilation between the parties they formally escort the woman to the house of her father or guardian and leave her there The manner of taking the first wife is as follows —

" When the parents of a young man consider it time to seek a bride for him, they make enquiries and consult their relatives and friends as to a suitable girl The girl's parents are informally apprised of their selection On a certain day the male relatives of the youth go to the girl's house to make a proposal of marriage Her parents having received previous notice of the visit leave the door of the house open or closed according to whether they

approve or disapprove of the match If the girl's parents object to the match they remain silent and will not touch the liquor brought by the visitors, who then go away Should they, however, approve of the match, they charge the visitors with intruding, shower abuse upon them and beat them, in some cases so severely that blood is shed This ill-treatment is borne cheerfully and without resistance, as it is a sign that the girl's hand will eventually be bestowed on the young man The liquor is placed on the floor and after more abuse, all present partake thereof If the girl's parents refuse to give her in marriage after the performance of this ceremony, they have to pay a penalty to the parents of the disappointed suitor " *

Two or three days later the young man's relatives go a second time to the girl's house, taking with them three pots of liquor, and a bundle composed of as many arrows as there are male members in the girl's family The liquor is drunk and the arrows presented, one to each male After an interval of some days a third visit is paid, and three pots of liquor, smeared with turmeric paste, and a quantity of turmeric are taken to the house The liquor is drunk and the turmeric paste smeared over the back and haunches of the girl's relatives Sometime afterwards the actual marriage ceremony takes place The bridegroom's party proceed to the house of the bride, dancing and singing to the accompaniment of all the musical instruments with the exception of the drum, which is only played at funerals With them they take twenty big pots of liquor, a pair of brass bangles and a cloth for the bride's mother, and head cloths for the father, brothers and other male relatives When everything is ready the priest is called in One of the pots is decorated and an arrow is fixed in the ground at its side The priest then repeats prayers to the invisible spirits and ancestors, and pours some of the liquor into leaf cups prepared in the names of the ancestors (Jojonji and Yoyonji, male and female), and the chiefs of the village. This liquor is considered very sacred and is sprinkled from a leaf over the shoulders and feet of the elders present The father of the bride then addresses the priest saying " Boya, I have drunk the liquor brought by the bridegroom's

* Thurston

father, and thereby accepted his proposal for a marriage between his son and my daughter I do not know whether the girl will afterwards agree to go to her husband or not, therefore, it is well that you should ask her openly to speak out her mind " The priest accordingly asks the girl if she has any objection and she replies, " My father and mother and all my relatives have drunk the bridegroom's liquor I am a Savara and he is a Savara Why then should I not marry him ? " All the people present then declare that they are now husband and wife This done, the big pot of liquor which has been set aside from the rest, is taken into the bride's house This pot, with another pot of liquor purchased at the expense of the bride's father, is given to the bridegroom's party when they retire

Every householder receives the bridegroom and his party at his house, and offers them liquor, rice and flesh, which they cannot refuse to partake of without giving offence

In the event of two or more wives being kept the wives live separately each in her own house with a plot of land attached, which she looks after and cultivates by herself with no help or interference from the other wives On no account will one wife help another wife to cultivate her plot and the grain produced from the plots is kept separately by each wife All wives co-operate, however, in the cultivation and harvesting of the paddy fields owned by the husband

During large feasts it appears that the Savaras give themselves up to much sensuality and on these occasions there is promiscuous intercourse, leading in many cases to fighting and bloodshed

The original custom appears to have been for each man to take his wife by force and carry her to his house If she liked him she remained with him, if not she ran away He would then bring her back If she ran away three times he abandoned her

On the occasion of a widow re-marrying, a religious ceremony must be performed, during which a pig is sacrificed The flesh with some liquor is offered to the ghost of the widow's deceased husband and prayers offered up by the " Boyas " to propitiate

the ghost, so that it may not torment the woman and her second husband When a divorcee marries another man, her former husband pounces upon him, shoots his buffalo or pig and takes it to his village, where its flesh is served up at a feast The liquor used on such occasions is the fermented juice of the sago palm and is called Ara Sal.

Besides the prohibition of marriage within the same Barga, the union of first cousins is sometimes forbidden It is interesting to note that this is not always forbidden as is the case with most other Hindu castes and one is inclined to think that this places beyond doubt the social status of this caste, for it is only among the lower castes that this custom is permitted Marriage is usually adult, but in places where the Savars have lived near Hindus they have adopted early marriage The usual Hindu practice of carrying at least the bride (and sometimes the bridegroom also) to the bridegroom's house is in vogue also amongst this caste In the Uriya country the Jorias consider it a great sin for anyone to marry a girl after adolescence To avoid this they sometimes marry a girl to an arrow before she attains puberty An arrow is tied to her hand and a fiction of marriage is thereupon performed The arrow is then thrown or shot into a river to imply that her husband is dead or she is afterwards disposed of by the ceremony of widow marriage

During the last Census, Savaras recorded in the various districts as below —

Madras ...	210,511 souls.
Behar and Orissa	202,635 ,,
Central Provinces	74,000 ,,

(c) CASTES SPEAKING *PATOIS* OF HINDI, URIYA AND BENGALI

BHUIYA (*Bhuinya, Bhuiyan, Bhuinhar, Bhumiya, Mushar, Naik Khandayat, Khandait-Paik, Ghatwal, Ghatwar, Tikayat, Puran, Rajwar, Rai Rai-Bhuiya, Ber-Bhuiya, Sardar*) —

Distributed as follows —

Burdwan Division	59,000
Patna Division	130,000
Bhagalpur Division	108,000
Orissa Division	9,000
Hazaribagh	76,000
Palamau	83,000
Manbhum	38,000
Orissa States	102,000

In his *Castes and Tribes of Bengal* Risley writes —" This bewildering array of synonyms suggests a problem of great importance to ethnological research in India—the question what value can properly be attached to the names of tribes and castes as we find them at the present day Are such names mainly fortuitous, deriving their origin from such accidents as locality, occupation, habit and the like, or do they take us back to periods of remote antiquity and furnish clues that may safely be followed to the actual descent and true affinities of the human aggregate which they now serve to distinguish ? " In the course of an interesting discussion he points out that the word Bhuiya is of Sanskritic origin (Bhumi—the Earth) and that the name is always associated with some sort of claim to the privileged tenure of the land Were it a genuine tribal name, we might expect that its etymology would be traceable to one of the non-Aryan languages, and that it would attach to groups defined rather by descent than by territorial status The name is found, in fact, over a wide area, from Assam to Rajputana and from Behar to Madras, its use being elastic enough to include Rajputs and Bhumijs, Mahomedans and Uraons Literally it means *children of the soil* and Risley thinks this was the appellation assigned to the aboriginals found in the scanty forest clearings by the

immigrant Aryans The name has been also adopted by races claiming a special privilege in land, such as the Barah Bhuiyas of Assam and a group of Rajputs in Rajputana He distinguishes "Bhuiyas by tribe" and "Bhuiyas by title," and we are concerned mainly with the former class, found now in Chota Nagpur, especially Palamau, the Feudatory States of Gangpur, Bonai, Keonjhar and Bamra, and all over Behar In Southern Behar we meet with Bhuiyas known as "Musahars" or rat-eaters, but who invariably call themselves Bhuiyas In Orissa we find them as Khandait Paiks or swordsmen, a caste of admitted respectability.

As is to be expected, the traditions of the tribe vary greatly in different parts of the country, and in many cases refer to local migrations of recent date, which gave no clue to their real affinities Colonel Dalton says that the Bhuiyas to the South of Singhbhum (Chaibassa) call themselves *Pawan-bas,* ("the children of the wind") to this day, and connecting this with Hanuman's title *Pawan-ka-put* "son of the wind" suggests that the Bhuiyas are the veritable apes of the Ramayana This is an interesting if doubtful theory, but all Bhuiyas from the Musahars of Behar to the Khandait-Paiks of Orissa affect great reverence for the memory of Rikhmum or Rikhiasan, whom they regard, some as a patron deity, others as a mythical ancestor whose name distinguishes one of the divisions of the tribe It seems probable, says Risley, that in the earliest stage of belief Rikhmum was the bear-totem of a sept of the tribe, that later on he was transformed into an ancestral hero, and finally promoted to the rank of a tribal god However this may be, his cult is peculiar to the Bhuiyas and serves to link together the scattered branches of the tribe

The Bhuiyas of the Feudatory States may be taken to represent the original nucleus of the tribe, and form at present a compact body, marrying among themselves, and secure in the possession of the ancestral landed tenures

Some of the chiefs have transformed themselves into Rajputs but the memory of the tribal bond between them and their Bhuiya vassals survives in such usages as is found in Keonjhar, where the chiefs are installed on the *gadi* by Bhuiyas. In Behar, on the other

hand, the Bhuiyas fell under the domination of people stronger than themselves Unlike their brethren in Orissa, they were in no demand as soldiers, while the swords of Rajputs and Babhans were to be had for the asking So the Bhuiyas found their level as landless workers in the fields, serving the men of the sword, who would not touch the plough, and their Hindu masters named them Musahars from their non-Aryan practice of eating field-mice

In Daltonganj and the adjoining districts, the Bhuiya of the present day is a serf, literally a bond slave Recent legislation has been directed towards the abolition of the system of slavery which obtains, with little, it is feared, hope of ameliorating their condition The *Kamia,* as he is called, has executed a *Kamiauti* bond, binding himself and his heirs for ever, in consideration of having received the sum of Rs 20—it is seldom more—to serve as a labourer or domestic servant *to liquidate the interest* on the sum There was no hope of escape until the enactment which declared all bonds null and void a year after the passing of the Act as the principal could never be paid off The *Kamia* himself is not interested in his freedom, he is fed, sometimes well fed, as befits a useful beast of burden An attempt has been made to pay off Kamia bonds for such persons as have been willing to emigrate to Tea Gardens, but they have not come in any great numbers.

Certain groups of Bhuiyas are divided into exogamous sections, particularly the Musahars and the Bhuiyas of the Feudatory States, but others are rather indeterminate The marriage customs vary from the adult marriage of the aboriginal type to the infant marriage fashionable among the Hindus, polygamy is allowed and divorce is permitted, widow marriage in the *sagai* form being the rule

Their religion also varies, as is to be expected, from Animism to Hinduism of a crude type. In Bonai, the Bhuiyas have their own priests, called *deoris* and sacred groves called *deota sara* (cf the *sarna* of the Mundas) where sacrifices are offered Their religion in fact tends to approximate to that of their neighbours, and their festivals are identical with those of the people among whom they live.

On Tea Gardens when well treated they make excellent labour, though addicted to drink They suffer from an apathy as regards material benefits which is not surprising when we consider the circumstances under which they have lived for generations, but there can be no doubt that they will gradually awake from this torpor and will in the near future supply unlimited labour of a good type

Note —The important section of Khandaits has also been separately treated in the article which follows

KHANDAIT (*Khandayat*) from Uriya *Khanda* a sword, the generic title of the feudal militia of Orissa, the leading members of which claim to be descended from a band of Kshatriyas who came in as conquerors from Northern India They have been included above among the Bhuiyas, their true affinities have long been disguised under a functional name, while their customs and religion have been modified by long contact with Hindus of relatively pure descent As Risley points out, the evidence for this view consists in the following facts —

(1) The Khandaits of Chota Nagpur claim that they immigrated from Orissa some twenty generations ago and many of them still speak Uriya, they regulate their marriages by the totemistic sections characteristic of the Southern Bhuiyas and call themselves Bhuiya Paiks

(2) Among the Khandaits are found the curious names *Uttai, Dakhin* and *Pachim Kapat* (North, South and West) which are found also among the Bhuiyas of Singhbhum.

(3) As late as 1825 the term Bhuiya was current as a synonym for Khandait even in Orissa

The Khandaits are divided into sub-castes some of which indicate traces of totemistic origin, especially the *Chasa-Khandait, Oih Khandait* or *Khandait Paik* who occupy the lower position of the village Chaukidars, and ordinary cultivators and frequently emigrate to Assam The main body of Khandaits have the rule of adult marriage In Chota Nagpur widows may marry again and may marry the first husband's younger brother or younger cousin,

The religion is Hinduism of the Vaishnava sect and their religious observances present no features of special interest In Chota Nagpur the unmistakeably aboriginal deity of Bai Pahar corresponding to the Marang Buru or great mountain of the Mundas is worshipped by the head of each household.

Khandaits originally held feudal tenures, and in the Ranchi District at one time held large areas on terms of military service These, however, passed out of their hands as the country settled down under British rule, and at the present day very few families retain holdings of any value The Orissa Khandaits have, however, held their ground more securely and the leading families still hold estates and rent free tenures under Government while the rank and file are occupancy raiyats or have small tenures in return for their services as chaukidars or village headmen

The Khandaits were distributed as follows in 1921 —

Cuttack	481,000
Balasore	195,000
Puri	31,000
Orissa States	24,000

BAGDI (*Bagiti Mudi*) —A cultivating and *fishing* caste of Central and West Bengal who appear, as Risley states, from their features and complexion to be of Dravidian descent They numbered in the recent census 995,000, distributed as follows over various Districts —

Burdwan	179,000
Birbhum	72,000
Bankura	55,000
Midnapore	136,000
Presidency Division	206,000

The Bagdis have several traditions to explain their origin, more or less indelicate and connected with the amours of Siva They are, as we have pointed out in other cases, merely recent attempts at linking up the tribe in the Hindu body politic, attributing a quasi-divine origin to the tribe.

In the District of Bankura we find eight sub-castes, sub-divided again into totemistic exogamous sections which clearly indicate the relation of the caste to tribes similar to aboriginal peoples already discussed Among totems found are *Karbak*, the heron, *Barknshi*, the jungle cock, *Sahishi*, the Sal fish and *Kachap*, the tortoise, the totem being taboo to members of the tribe

A Bagdi cannot marry outside his sub-caste nor within the section to which he belongs Marriage with any person descended in the direct line from the same parents is forbidden so long as the relationship is remembered

, Further East than Bankura, the tribe has become more and more affected by contact with Hinduism, though traces of totemism still survive

Marriage is either infant or adult, polygamy is permitted and widow marriage the rule The Bagdis of Bankura, Midnapur and Manbhum, though they have adopted a marriage ritual borrowed from the Brahmanical system, still preserve traces of usages which we found among more primitive tribes For instance, before the bridegroom starts for the bride's house he goes through a mock marriage with a *Mohwa* tree, bedaubing it with sindur and being bound to it by his wrist with thread On release this thread is used to bind a bunch of *Mohwa* leaves to his wrist On arrival at the bride's house, a mimic conflict takes place between his and the bride's friends, which ends in victory for the bridegroom's party, thus symbolizing capture of the bride *Sindurdan* is deemed the essential part of the marriage ceremony

Their religion is compounded of elements borrowed from orthodox Hinduism and survivals from the mingled Animism and Nature worship so frequently alluded to We find, however, Barpahar in their pantheon who is identical with Marang Buru of the Mundas and Santalis Their favourite deity is Manasa, the sister of the Snake King Vasuki, she is worshipped during the Monsoons Bagdis burn their dead and throw the ashes into a stream or tank, the *sraddh* ceremony is performed under the superintendence of a Brahman in conformity with the ordinary Hindu usage

The social rank of the Bagdi is very low, some eat beef and pork and all are greatly addicted to drink. In Western Bengal and Chota Nagpur, they are usually landless day-labourers or under-raiyats They make excellent Tea Garden labour and have emigrated in large numbers to Tea Estates, where they appear to settle down well They became readily absorbed, however, into the local industries, becoming lac workers and doing earth work and engaging themselves as masons, and of recent years have not left their own districts to any great extent

PAN (*Panwa, Pani, Pab, Chik, Chik-Baraik, Mahato, Sawasi, Tanti, Ganda*) —

A low weaving, basket-making and servile caste scattered under various names throughout the north of Orissa and the southern and western parts of Chota Nagpur, who numbered 351,000 in the last Census, being distributed as follows through the various Districts —

Cuttack	99,000	Angul	24,000
Balasore	55,000	Orissa States	155,000

28,000 were found in Assam

Colonel Dalton described them as "in all probability remnants of the Aryan colonies that the Hos subjugated" Risley doubts whether there ever were such colonies and points out that the most cursory examination of the exogamous divisions of the Pans affords convincing evidence of their Dravidian origin Their own tradition is that they are descended from the Snake King The caste has a very numerous set of totems including the tiger, buffalo, monkey, tortoise, cobra, owl, king crow, etc —the same in fact as the Mundas and other tribes in that part of the country The totem follows the line of male descent and a man may not marry a woman who has the same totem as himself, but the totems of the bride's ancestors are not taken into account There are, however, the beginning of a supplementary system of reckoning prohibited degrees, *viz*, marriage between descendants of the same parents in a direct line may not take place, so long as the relationship is remembered

Like most castes spread over a vast area the Pans appear under several names, the origin of which it is difficult to trace. In Man-

bhum they call themselves *Baraik*, the " great ones ", in Ranchi and Sirguja we meet them under the name *Chik*, or *Chik-Baraik*, while in Singhbhum (Chaibassa) and south-eastern Ranchi they are called *Sawasi* or *Tanti* and in the Feudatory States around Sambalpur they are called Ganda, a name which suggests the possibility of descent from the Gonds In Orissa five sub-castes are known —Orh Pan or Uriya Pan, a semi-Hinduised group who claim a superior status, Buna-Pan, who only weave cloth, Betra Pan or Raj-Pan, basket workers and workers in cane, but also employed as musicians, syces and chaukidars, Pan Baishtab who have become Vaishnavas and who officiate as priests of their own caste, and Patradia who live among the Khonds and perform for them a variety of servile functions They occupy separate quarters, a kind of Ghetto, in the Khond villages They sometimes purchased, but more frequently kidnapped, the children whom they sold to the Khonds for the Meriah sacrifices and they have been known to have sold their own offspring as victims The Meriah sacrifices of the Khonds when human beings were offered up to their gods will be discussed under the article dealing with this tribe, but it may be mentioned here that such atrocities have only comparatively recently been suppressed

Marriage among the Pans is usually adult, the standard bride-price being Rs 2 in cash, a maund and a half of husked rice, a goat, and two *saris* *Sindurdan* and the tying together of the hands of the bridegroom and bride are considered to be the essential portions of the marriage ceremony

The professed religion of the Pans is a sort of bastard Hinduism, varying with the locality in which they happen to be settled Beneath a thin veneer of Hinduism we may discern plentiful traces of the primitive animism common to all Dravidian tribes We come across our old friend Bar Pahar, a divinity of unquestionably Dravidian origin who inhabits the highest hill in the vicinity and demands the sacrifice of a he-goat in the month of Phalgun The snake is worshipped as the ancestor of the caste

Their festivals call for no particular notice they observe every festival they conveniently can just as they worship every god within their ken

Their status is exceedingly low, their original occupation is weaving, which they readily abandon for agriculture when possible They emigrate freely, but there are various estimates of their utility on Tea Estates Some employers will not look at a Pan-Tanti from Orissa, but the Sawasis and Chik-Baraiks of Singhbhum and Ranchi make excellent labour They eat beef, pork and drink heavily, but between drinking bouts work well in order to obtain the wherewithal for fresh orgies.

GANDA :—

A servile caste of the Chota Nagpur and Uriya Districts numbering in the recent Census 225,000 distributed as follows —

Sambalpur	84,000
Orissa States	140,000

In the Central Provinces, they are engaged as village drudges, acting as watchmen, musicians and also as weavers of coarse cloth They are looked upon as occupying the same social positions as Mehras and Chamars In Chota Nagpur, however, they are still in some places recognised as a primitive tribe, being generally known as *Pan, Pab* or *Chik* Risley thought there may be some connection between the Gandas and Gonds, but Russell denies this

The sub-castes in the Central Provinces are mainly occupational, the Bajna or Bajgari serving as musicians at feast, the Mang or Mangia weaving mats, the *Dholia* making baskets and the Dans skinning cattle Panka (q v) is said also to be a sub-caste of Gandas, but is generally treated as a separate caste

The sub-tribes are divided into totemistic exogamous septs of the usual type, the totems being plants, animals or inanimate objects Marriage is prohibited within the sept and between the children of two sisters, though the children of brothers and sisters may marry A girl who arrives at maturity without having been married is usually made to go through the ceremony of marriage with a spear stuck upright in the courtyard of her house and she is then given away to anybody who cares to take her

An elderly male member of the caste officiates as priest at marriages and is called the *Sethia*.

Russell gives the following description of an interesting custom :—

" When the bride and bridegroom return home after the wedding, an image of a deer is made of grass and placed behind the ear of the bride The bridegroom then throws a toy arrow at it, made of grass or thin bamboo and is allowed seven shots. If he fails to knock it out of her ear after these, the bride's brother takes it and runs away and the bridegroom must follow and catch him. This is clearly a symbolic process representing the chase and may be taken as a reminiscence among the Gandas of their former life in the forests "

The re-marriage of widows is permitted and divorce is allowed, if the divorced lady marries her lover, he must repay the husband the expenses incurred by the latter on his wedding

The Gandas principally worship Dulha Deo, a young bridegroom who was carried off by a tiger. They observe the Hindu fasts and festivals, cremate their dead, but have no special ceremonies of interest.

They are not averse to agricultural labour which they take up as occasion demands. In Chota Nagpur they are petty agriculturists and daily labourers and do not differ materially in their customs from the aboriginal tribes amongst whom they live

AGARIYA :—

A Dravidian tribe found in the Feudatory States of Chota Nagpur and in the hilly parts south of the Mirzapur District A tribe of the same name is found in the Mandla District of the Central Provinces where they are known as a sub-division of the Gond tribe. Risley thought the Agariyas of Chota Nagpur were a section of the Korwas

They were distributed as follows in 1921 —

Sambalpur	7,000
Orissa States	20,000

They are divided into exogamous septs, all of totemistic origin, one of which *Gidbale* (or vulture) is also found among the Uraons

Marriage is adult, a bride-price being paid, and the ceremony having traces of the marriage by capture in its ritual Widow marriage is allowed and divorce permitted

The Agariyas call themselves Hindus, but worship none of the regular Hindu deities Ancestor worship is strong and their priest or *Baiga* propitiates the village deities, Brahmans never being employed Their religion is really animistic with a very thin veneer of Hinduism

Tatooing appears to be very fashionable among these people and also among their neighbours of allied races This tatooing appears to be a sort of sacred rite, especially so far as women are concerned Marks representing some god are tatooed on the body which are believed to ensure entrance into heaven and to keep off evil spirits

In Mirzapur the Agariyas practically do no agriculture but smelt iron for a living, elsewhere they have taken to cultivation Imported iron in convenient form for the making of plough-shares is to be found in nearly every bazar nowadays and the Agariya will soon lose his occupation and turn to agriculture if opportunity offers. They are not averse from emigration but the tribe is small and consequently few are met with on Tea Estates *They should* settle down well on Estates where Korwas or Gonds are found Their festivals are the same as those of these tribes

DHANUK :—

A cultivating caste of Behar, the Sonthal Perganas and the United Provinces, many of whom are employed as personal servants in the households of members of higher castes

They were distributed as follows in 1921 —

Patna Division	38,000
Tirhut Division	224,000
Bhagalpur Division	270,000
Palamau	3,500
United Provinces	122,000

Buchanan considered them a "pure agricultural tribe, who from their name, implying *archers* were probably in former times the militia of the country, and are perhaps allied to the Kurmis." Risley quotes one or two of their traditional mythical pedigrees, *e g.*, that they are descended from a Chamar and a female Chandal, and says these myths in a general way serve to indicate the social rank held by the Dhanuks when it was first thought necessary to enrol them among the mixed castes In this point of view, he adds, the degraded parentage assigned to the caste, lends some support to the conjecture that they may be an offshoot from one of the non-Dravidian tribes

They are divided into several sub-castes, of the origin of which little is known They seem to refer to localities, for instance we have the *Silhotia, Magahva, Tirhutia, Kananjia,* which are used by many other castes

Both infant and adult marriage is recognised among the Dhanuks, the former being considered more respectable The marriage ceremony differs little, if at all, from the standard Hindu form of marriage among Behar castes of a similar social standing The smearing of red lead is considered the essential part of the ceremony Widow re-marriage and divorce are permitted among some sections, particularly among the Dhanuks of the Sonthal Perganas

Their religion presents no features of special interest, they worship the regular Hindu gods and a whole host of minor territorial deities

Those of the Dhanuks who are not personal servants are agriculturists, some subsisting by daily agricultural labour In some parts of the country they are engaged in the cultivation of hemp and the manufacture of string They rank with Kurmis and Koiris, Brahmans will take water from their hands

KADAR :—

A non-Aryan caste of cultivators, fishermen and day-labourers in Bhagalpur and the Sonthal Perganas, probably a degraded offshoot of the Bhuiyas (q v) They are divided into the sub-castes

Kadar and *Naiya*, the latter of which, Risley says, may possibly have been developed from among the priests of the forest gods, who are usually called *Lava* or *Nava* in Western Bengal The sub-castes are divided into exogamous sections, but there is now no trace of the totem

Marriage is infant or adult according to means, the former being more respectable The ceremony is of the usual type found among the lower castes of Hindus, sindurdan being the binding portion of the ceremony, and the village barber officiating as priest Divorce is freely permitted and there is no restriction on widow re-marriage

Their religion is not without interest being at present an early stage of the conversion of pure Animism into Brahmanism

Like the Mundas and Uraons the Kadars believe they are compassed about by a host of invisible powers, some of which are supposed to be the spirits of departed ancestors while others seem to embody nothing more definite than the vague senses of the mysterious and uncanny with which hills, streams and lonely forests inspire the savage imagination A roughly moulded lump of clay set up in an open shed, a queer shaped stone bedaubed with vermillion does duty for a god Karu Dano, Hardiya Dano, Simra Dano, Pahar Dano, Lilu, Pardana and others are *propitiated*, but what their functions are none can explain Fowls, goats, pigeons are offered in the *sarna* or sacred functions with those of *barber*, and the offerings are eaten by the worshippers Yet the Kadars talk vaguely about Mahadeo and Vishnu and claim to be Hindus They eat practically anything—even beef, pork and field rats and indulge freely in strong drink

Comparatively few of the caste have land of their own or have acquired occupancy rights Fishing and wood-cutting are their other occupations, but there is an intense desire for the superior status that the agricultural occupation gives them Their social rank is very low, and Doms and Haris are the only people who will take water from their hands

They numbered during the last Census 12,000 in Bhagalpur and 9,000 in the Santal Parganas

KAHAR :—

A large caste of Behar, Chota Nagpur, the Santal Perganas and the United Provinces numbering —

Benares Division	71,000
Gorakhpur Division	159,000
Allahabad Division	85,000
Jhansi Division	41,000
Chota Nagpur Division	81,000
Bhagalpur Division	91,000
Patna Division	256,000
Tirhut Division	71,000

They are represented by the Brahman genealogists as a mixed caste descended from a Brahman father and a Chandal mother, but, according to Risley, it seems more likely that they are a remnant of one of the primitive races who occupied the valley of the Ganges before the incursion of the Aryans They are a mixed caste in that like the Bauris and Bagdis of Bengal they admit into their community Brahmans, Rajputs, Kayasths, Kurmis and children of Kahar women by men of these castes Instances of men of higher castes applying for enrolment in a lower caste are no doubt rare and occur only when the applicant has been turned out of his own caste for an intrigue with a woman of a lower caste

Kahars themselves claim descent from Jarasandha, King of Maghada, and have an absurd story to account for their name which Mr Nesfield renders as meaning " Water Carrier " Risley does not like this derivation and prefers to think that it is a corruption of *Kandh* and *bhai*, meaning a man who bears burdens on his shoulder

The caste is divided into several sub-castes —Rawani, Kharwara, Magahiya, Dhimar and others Among the Rawani subcaste in the Santal Perganas we find the totemistic sections *Nag* and *Kasyapa*, but for the most part the sections are lost Marriage is regulated by prohibiting unions between persons so long as relationship can be traced Polygamy is allowed and widows

may marry again, though she is not compelled to marry the younger brother of her deceased husband, it is considered fit and proper that a widow should do so Divorce is permitted on the usual grounds with the sanction of the caste panchaiyat, over which a hereditary president called the *sardar* presides

The religion of the Kahars is the crude Hinduism we may expect among the lower types, Brahmans are employed, and a whole host of minor deities are propitiated Each household has in addition its own godlings, venerated and worshipped by the members of the household Kahars cremate their dead and perform the *sraddh* ceremony on the thirty-first day after death The ashes are buried near the burning place under a small platform of mud on the top of which a tulsi tree is planted Their festivals are the usual Hindu fairs and feasts, with a tendency to join in any spree that is afoot They drink heavily

Agriculture, palanquin-bearing and service in the houses of the higher castes are the chief occupations of Kahars at the present day They are found as petty raiyats and landless day-labourers paid in cash or kind, all over Behar and Chota Nagpur They have emigrated in large numbers to Assam and to the Dooars, where they make useful labour, as do most of the purely occupational castes who look for a rise in status by becoming agriculturists

AHIR / GOALA (*Goai, Gop, Goal*) —

A widely distributed and important caste of herdsmen and agriculturists of great antiquity The *Abhira* are mentioned by Manu as the offspring of a Brahman and an Ambastha girl The traditions of the caste profess to trace their descent from Krishna himself whose relations with the milkmaids of Brindaban play a prominent part in Hindu mythology Another story makes out the Goalas to be Vaisyas who were degraded in consequence of having introduced castration among their herds Risley thinks that this large functional group have been recruited not merely by the diffusion along the Ganges valley of the semi-Aryan Goalas, but also by the inclusion in the caste of pastoral tribes who were not

Aryans at all Most of the sub-castes owe their origin, in his opinion, to successive accretions of this type Colonel Dalton commented upon the various physical types found in the district of Singhbhum among the Goalas, some having features which are now recognised as par excellence "Aryan," while others were indistinguishable from the aboriginal Hos

The following table gives their distribution over the Recruiting Districts at the recent Census —

Patna Division	827,000
Tirhut Division	1,200,000
Bhagalpur Division	832,000
Chota Nagpur Division	310,000

Spread over the various districts of each of these divisions

Nearly 3½ million Ahirs were found in the United Provinces

The internal structure of the tribe as may be expected from the double process by which its members have been recruited is extremely complicated In the United Provinces, no less than eighteen sub-castes were recorded. In Behar and Chota Nagpur a different series of sub-castes appear to have been developed These sub-castes are all endogamous, marriage outside the sub-caste being prohibited The sub-caste again is split up into gotras which are exogamous Goalas are very strong in Orissa and a large proportion of the Uriyas employed as personal servants by Europeans belong to that caste The Goalas of Singhbhum and southern Chota Nagpur appear to have come from Orissa, but they have totemistic sub-divisions suspiciously like those of the Hos and Mundas, and, as Colonel Dalton observed, the caste may have been augmented by Hinduised Hos admitted because of the adopted pastoral occupation

The marriage customs vary according to locality; in Chota Nagpur marriage is usually adult, a bride-price being paid. Brahmans officiate at weddings, the binding part of the ceremony being the smearing of the bride's forehead with vermilion. Among the Goalas of Singhbhum, a widow is required to marry one of her husband's younger brothers and failing these she must marry

within the exogamous group to which her late husband belonged. In Orissa and Behar the customs are more or less identical, conforming to the usual Hindu type, infant marriage being fashionable

Religion —There is little to be said of their religion Jammashtami or the birthday of Krishna is celebrated with great circumstance, as also is the festival of *Holi* (*Dol Jatra*)

The festivals are of the usual Hindu type They have a festival called the Sohrae which appears to be identical with that of the same name observed by the *Mundas* and *Uraons*

Occupation —In Chota Nagpur the Ahir is usually the village herd and is paid in kind for his services He is usually also a substantial cultivator and the younger branches of his family have to turn to agriculture for a living When land is not obtainable the Ahir will take up daily labour of an agricultural sort So also in Behar and the United Provinces As stated above, the Oriya Goala is in great demand as a "bearer" especially in Calcutta and they find their way to Tea Estates in order to take up this occupation

Crooke says that no account of the Ahirs would be complete without a reference to the Lorik legend which is most popular among them and is sung at all their ceremonies There are various versions of it, it is most voluminous and embodies a number of different episodes

The commonest form is Sindhar an Ahir of the East country marries Chandain, who falls in love with a neighbour Lorik and elopes with him Sindhar follows and fights Lorik but is defeated Chandain and her lover in their wanderings meet Mahapatiya, a Dusadh, the chief of the gamblers and he and Lorik play till the latter loses everything including the lady She, however, points out that her jewellery was not included in the last stake and induces them to try another throw of the dice She stands opposite Mahapatiya and bewitches him with her womanly loveliness so that he is distracted and loses Lorik wins back everything and then slays Mahapatiya After a series of adventures when the King of Hardui is defeated and his kingdom captured, but lost again and

again captured with the help of Durga, Lorik took revenge on the Kols who had slain his brother Semru and finally settled down as a King of great virtue

Indra determined to destroy him, however, and persuaded Durga to take the form of his mistress and tempt him He gave way to the temptation and Durga smote him so that his face was turned completely round ! Overcome by grief and shame he went to Kasi (Benares) with his family and there they were all turned into stone, and sleep the sleep of magic at the Mankarnika Ghat

KUNBI :—

This is the great agricultural caste of the Maratha country, being found in the Chanda, Nimar, Betul, Nagpur, Bhandara and Vardha Districts of the Central Provinces, and numbered 3,229,000 at the Census of 1921

Recruiting for Assam Tea Estates has, so far, scarcely touched these people, but of recent years there has been considerable recruiting done in Chanda, Nimar and Betul, and with the gradual acquisition of Sirdars from among the Kunbis, it may be hoped that they will emigrate in increasing numbers

The caste is an interesting one, its internal structure showing that it is an occupational body recruited from different classes of the population Among them are some groups from Northern India as the Hindustani, Pardeshi, Dholewar, Jaiswar and Singoora sub-castes, who Russell thinks are probably Kurmis who have settled among the Kunbis and have been absorbed So the Tailanges and Mimurwars appear to be an offshoot of the great Kapu caste of cultivators in the Telegu country In Chhindwara is found a small local sub-caste called Gadhao, because they formerly kept donkeys, while in Nimar there is a sub-caste named Gujarati Kunbis who are considered to have been originally Gujars The Jhars or jungly Kunbis are the oldest immigrants of the Central Provinces and, no doubt, have an admixture of Gond blood In Nagpur we find the Marwa Kunbi recruited from the Manas, a primitive type who Russell thinks were probably pre-Gond In Canara in the Bombay Presidency the Kunbi is quite a primitive forest dweller who only a few years back lived by scattering his

seed on patches of land burnt clear of vegetation, collecting myrabolams and other fruits and snaring and trapping animals like the Gonds and Savaras of the present day

The word Kunbi itself may be derived from the Dravidian root *Kul*, a husbandman or labourer It appears, therefore, that a Kunbi has, in the past, been synonymous with a cultivator and that large groups from other castes who have taken to agriculture have been admitted into the community and usually obtained a rise in rank

The sub-castes are divided up into exogamous septs or clans, the vernacular term for these being *Kul* Compare with this the word *Killi* which is the Mundari word for the exogamous totemistic sept Some of the Kunbi septs are named after natural objects or animals, quite of the Munda type A man may not marry within his own Kul, but must marry within his own sub-caste He may marry his wife's younger sister, but not her elder sister

Alliances between first and second cousins are prohibited, except that a sister's son may be married to a brother's daughter Russell thinks this exception as to the marriage of relations points to the conclusion that the custom is a survival of the Matriarchate when a brother's property would pass to his sister's son Under such a law of inheritance he would naturally desire that the heir should be united to his own daughter, and this union might gradually become customary and at length almost obligatory

Girls are usually married between the ages of five and eleven and boys between ten and twenty. A bride-price is paid and *sindur* (red lead) is used in the principal part of the bethrothal and marriage ceremonies It has been noted elsewhere that this is perhaps a survival of a ceremony of a blood bond between the contracting parties Brahmans are usually employed A curious custom among the Karwa Kunbis of Nimar must be noted Marriages may only take place once in every ten or twelve years, *viz*, in which the planet Guru (Jupiter) comes into conjunction with the constellation Singh (Leo) This year is called *Singhast Ki Sal* A certain day is fixed by the caste Guru and on this occasion children from infants in arms to ten or twelve years are married

and if a match cannot be arranged for them, they will have to wait another ten or twelve years! This it may be noted is the same year in which marriages are forbidden to Hindus generally

Polygamy is permitted but is rarely practised, divorce is allowed, the re-marriage of widows being the rule except among the Deshmukh families of the Tirole sub-caste who have forbidden it A widow may marry anyone outside the family of her deceased husband, but she may not marry his younger brother

The principal deities of the caste are Maroti or Hanuman, Mahadeo or Siva, Devi, Satwai and Khandrba Side by side with much that is general to all Hindus persists, as may be expected from the origin of the caste, much that can be traced as survivals from a crude Animism The Kumbis also make silver or brass images of their ancestors and keep them in a basket with their other household deities

The principal festival is the *Pola* falling about the middle of the rainy season, when they have a procession of plough bullocks They also observe all the ordinary Hindu festivals

Sir Reginald Craddock wrote of the Kunbi —

" The Kunbi is certainly a most plodding patient mortal, with a cat-like affection for his land "

Some of the caste have acquired much property, but the great majority are small landholders who might emigrate if the prospect of obtaining land were held out

MAHAR (*Mehara, Mehra, Dhod*) —

A large caste of weavers, menials, labourers and village watchmen in the Central Provinces totalling over a million at the time of the 1921 Census

The Mahars say they are descended from Mahamuni who was a foundling picked up by the Goddess Parvati on the banks of the Ganges At this time beef had not become a forbidden food, and when the divine cow, Tripad Gayatri, died the gods determined to cook and eat her body, Mahamuni being set to watch the pot boiling A piece of flesh fell out, which he ate, the gods discovered this delinquency and doomed him and his descendants to live on the flesh of dead cows.

Wilson considers the Mahars to be an aboriginal or pre-Aryan tribe, and their custom of eating dead cattle, together with the interned organization of the tribe, would appear to point to a decidedly non-Aryan origin The caste is divided into several sub-castes mainly of a local or territorial type, *e g*, the Daharia or residents of Dahar or the Jubbulpore country, Namadya from Nimar, Khandeshi from Khandesh, the Katia group spin, as also do the Barkias, the Kosaria being found in Chhattisgarh The caste have also a large number of exogamous groups or septs of the Dravidian type, the names of which are usually derived from plants, animals and natural objects We find, for instance, as among the Mundas, septs named after the tiger, cobra, tortoise, peacock, jackal, lizard, etc

A man may not marry in his own sept and besides this rule there are some simple regulations against consanguineous marriages Marriage by service of the Jacob-Rachel type is also found The actual ceremony usually follows the Hindu ritual, the Mohturtz or caste priest officiating at weddings, though in Mandla, for instance, the lower caste Brahman will officiate In Chhindwara the Mahars seat the bride and bridegroom on a loom for the ceremony and they worship the hide of a cow or a bullock filled with water

Divorce is permitted and widow marriage is allowed A widow is under no obligation to marry her husband's younger brother, when she marries a stranger the bride-price is paid to her parents and not to her late husband's family

The caste either burn or bury their dead and observe a sort of modified *sraddh* ceremony

The great body of Mahars worship the ordinary Hindu deities, Devi, Hanuman, Dulha, Deo and others, though, of course, they are not permitted to enter the temples They principally observe the Holi and Dasahara festivals, and the days of the new and the full moon Snake worship is also common The usual Hindu festivals are observed

The social position of the Mahars is one of distressing degradation, their touch is considered to defile and they live in a quarter

by themselves outside the village The principal occupation is the weaving of coarse cloth, but with the rise of the Weaving Industry in the Bombay Mills, large numbers have taken up employment therein They act as village watchmen and also take the hides of dead cattle, generally eating the flesh as well They act in fact as Chamars and Doms in the United Provinces and Behar. They also engage largely in daily labour and have emigrated in fairly large numbers to Assam, where they make fair coolies with a little care

KURMI :—

This is another very widely distributed functional caste, distributed over the Central Provinces, United Provinces, Behar and Orissa and Bengal. The 1921 Census Returns showed they were found in the following Districts —

Patna Division	270,000
Tirhut Division	387,000
Bhagalpur Division	93,000
Chota Nagpur Division	504,000
Feudatory States	110,000
Central Provinces	1,748,000

28,000 were found in Assam

In Behar and Orissa they show traces of Aryan blood and are a fine looking race, in Chota Nagpur they are described by Risley as being " short, sturdy and of very dark complexion, closely resembling in feature the Dravidian tribes around them It is difficult to distinguish a Kurmi from a Bhumij or Santal, and the Santals will take cooked food from them " Russell says that in the Central Provinces they are fairly dark in complexion and of moderate height and no doubt of very mixed blood. As noted in the article on the Kunbis, the two castes have merged in places in the Central Provinces, there is also evidence that Kunbis who have migrated to Northern India have amalgamated with the Kurmis

Crooke (*Tribes and Castes of the United Provinces*) gives several names of sub-castes showing the diverse constitution of the Kurmis. These three *Gaharwar, Jadon* and *Chandel* are the names

of Rajput clans, the *Kori* sub-caste must be a branch of the low weaver caste of that name, the sub-castes occurring in the Central Provinces, *Agaria* (iron workers), *Lonhare* (salt refiners), *Khaira* (catechu collectors) indicate that these Kurmis are derived from low Hindu castes or the aboriginal tribes

The Kurmis, as well as the Kunbis, Kumhars, Lohars, are good examples of the importance of occupation in caste questions and indicate how the social status may be improved by the adoption of a more "respectable" means of subsistence

The caste, as has been already gathered, has a very large number of sub-divisions more or less strictly endogamous, some abstain from meat and liquor, others eschew poultry, claiming greater ceremonial purity by the abstention In fact, as may have been expected from the foregoing, the caste is socially extremely stratified Each sub-caste has a number of exogamous divisions and these present a large variety of all types Some groups have the names of Brahman Saints, others are called after Rajput septs, there is a large *territorial* group, while again we have the totemistic sept so familiar among peoples of Dravidian origin

Marriage is as usually prohibited within the same section, and between first and second cousins on the mother's side Most Kurmis forbid a man to marry his wife's sister within her life time The marriage of widows is permitted and is usual Russell says "The binding ceremony of the marriage is the walking seven times round the marriage post in the direction of the sun The post probably represents the sun and the walk of the bridal couple round it may be an imitation of the movement of the planets round the sun During the procession the bride leads and the bridegroom puts his left hand on her shoulder The household grinding-slab is near the post and on it are placed seven little heaps of rice, turmeric, areca-nut and a small winnowing fan Each time the bride passes the slab, the bridegroom catches her right foot and with it makes her brush one of the little heaps off the slab These seven heaps represent the seven Rishis or Saints who are the seven large stars of the constellation of the Great Bear The bridegroom is given two lamps and he has to mix their flames, probably

to symbolise the mixing of the spirits of his wife and himself At the feasts the bride eats rice and milk with her husband from one dish, once at her own house and once after she goes to her husband's house Subsequently she never eats with her husband but always after him "

Funeral and mourning rites usually follow the regular Hindu customs, tinged locally by the customs of neighbours The caste worship the principal Hindu deities In many places the village gods are retained, Khermata the mother of the village being the most usual local form of Devi, the earth goddess She has a small hut and an image of Devi, either black or red, and is worshipped by a priest called Panda, who may be of any caste, except impure castes When an epidemic of Cholera breaks out, the Panda performs the following ceremony to avert it He takes a kid and a small pig, a chicken and some cloth, cakes, glass bangles, vermilion, an earthern lamp and some country liquor which is sprinkled all along the way from where he starts to where he stops He proceeds in this manner to the boundary of the village at a place where there are cross roads, and leaves all the things there Sometimes the animals are sacrificed and eaten While the Panda is doing this, everyone collects the sweepings of his house in a winnowing fan and throws them outside the village boundary, at the same time ringing a bell continuously These heaps of rubbish must be familiar sights to those who have motored through Chota Nagpur and the United Provinces

There appear to be no special caste feasts among the Kurmis, who observe all the usual Hindu festivals (see the Chapter on Hinduism)

The social status of the Kurmi is that of the cultivator, and member of the village community, but a large proportion of the Kurmis are recruited from the non-Aryan tribes who have obtained land and been admitted into the caste, and this tends to lower the status of the caste as a whole The Kurmi is the typical cultivator, he loves his land and to lose it is to break the mainspring of his life. He is industrious and plodding and inured to hardship His wife is in no way behind him, the proverb says "Good is the caste of the Kurmin; with a hoe in her hand she

goes to the fields and works with her husband" The Kurmi is ready to emigrate when land is scarce or mortgaged, or when as the result of splitting up of ancestral holdings, the younger sons are unable to extract a living out of their share. In exile they always work with the object either of returning to the homeland with sufficient funds to buy up more lands, or they endeavour to purchase land in the vicinity of the estates on which they work. Once they have gone into a basti and acquired again the status of land-holders, they are of very little use to the estate which imported them, as they will not return to casual labour

PANKA :—

A Dravidian caste of weavers and labourers found in Mandla, Raipur and Bilaspur and numbering in 1921 206,000

The name is a variant on that of the Pan tribe of Orissa and Chota Nagpur (q v) In the Central Provinces, however, it has a special application, *viz*, to that division of the Gandas who have become members of the Kabirpanthi sect " In this way the name has been found very convenient, for since Kabir, the founder of the sect, was discovered by a weaver woman lying on the lotus leaves of a tank, like Moses in the bulrushes, and as a newly initiated convert is purified with water, so the Pankas hold that their name is *pani ka* or *from water*" * They disown their connection with the Gandas and claim to be a separate caste They have succeeded in improving their status since they are not regarded as untouchables like the Gandas

The caste is divided into a number of exogamous septs, many of which are named after plants and animals The principal ceremony at a marriage consists in walking round the sacred pole called Magrohan, the clothes of the pair being knotted together

Widow marriage is permitted and divorce may be effected for bad conduct on the part of the wife

The Pankas worship only Kabir and observe certain Hindu festivals

The caste are generally weavers producing coarse country cloth, a number are village watchmen, while others are cultivators

* Russell

and labourers They are, as is the case with many of the industrial castes, very ready to take to cultivation and make fair labour.

PASI (*Passi*) —

A Dravidian occupational caste of Northern India whose hereditary employment is the tapping of the palmyra, date and other palm trees for their sap They number over a million and a half and were distributed as follows at the last Census —

Chota Nagpur Division	7,000
Patna Division	150,000
Tirhut Division	29,000
Bhagalpur Division	25,000
United Province	1,300,000

Distributed fairly regularly over all districts of these areas.

In the past they seem to have been of some importance in Oudh where they have traditions that they were lords of the country. Russell thinks they may be an occupational offshoot of the Bhars in Mirzapur, they represent the Bhars as merely a sub-caste of their tribe, though this is denied by the Bhars themselves The composition of the caste is now of a very mixed nature Sub-castes of Pasis are named after other castes, *e g*, Gujar, Ahir, Bahelia, Bhil and Bania Crooke is of opinion that the term Pasi is merely occupational and includes a number of distinct tribes whose only connection is the common occupation of extracting the juice of palms There are over 300 sub-divisions in the United Provinces alone, all of which are endogamous There appears to be no trace, however, of exogamous septs, marriages between relatives being barred so long as the relationship is remembered The marriage is of the usual low caste type, *sindur* or red lead being used in the binding part of the ceremony

The usual Hindu deities are worshipped and a whole pantheon of local godlings The Pasi will also visit and worship at the tomb of any saint (*pir*) or martyr (*sayyid*) that may be convenient They offer water every day to the souls of their ancestors in the first fortnight of the month of Kuar The usual Hindu festivals are observed, Phagua or Holi, Dasami, Diwali, etc

Their social status is very low, though Chamars and Bhangis will take water from their hands A few of them are landowners but most are day-labourers They have distinct criminal tendencies, and were formerly engaged as armed bullies by refractory landowners At the present day they make fair cultivators and useful labourers provided there are not too many of them on an Estate They emigrate fairly freely

DOSADH :—

A degraded Aryan or refined Dravidian cultivating caste of Behar and Chota Nagpur bearing an evil reputation as habitual criminals and largely employed as village watchmen They claim descent from the Pandava Prince Bhima or Bhim Sen, and to be allied to the Cheros Many of them have a yellowish brown complexion with wide, expanded nostrils and slightly turned up noses The complexion and the shape of the nose vary, however, which seem to indicate considerable mixture of blood In Northern Behar there has probably been some infusion of Mongolian blood It is known that members of any Hindu caste, except the Dom, Dhobi and Chamar, may gain admission into the Dosadh community by giving a feast to the heads of the caste and eating pork

The existence of a regular procedure for enrolling recruits from other castes, shows that such cases are not unknown, and they must tend to modify the physical type of the caste

At the recent census the Dosadhs were distributed as under —

Behar and Orissa	1,167,686 souls
Patna Division	301,629 ,,
Bhagalpur ,,	238,865 ,,
Chota Nagpur Division	69,547 ,,

The caste is divided into eight sub-castes —Kananjia, Magahiya, Bhojpuria, Pailwar, Kamar or Kanwar, Kuri or Kurin, Dhari or Dhar, Silhotia or Sirotia, Bahalia. The members of nearly all these groups will eat cooked food together, but do not inter-marry.

Infant-marriage is not considered necessary, but some Dosadhs hold that an adult bride is not entitled to the full marriage service (biyah), but must be married by the "Sagai" form used at the re-marriage of a widow. The marriage ceremony is a somewhat meagre copy of the ritual in vogue among middle-class Hindus Polgamy is permitted to a limited extent A man may in no case have more than two wives and he is not supposed to take a second unless the first is childless or suffers from an incurable disease In the Santal Perganas, however, three wives are allowed Divorce is permitted in all sub-castes except the Kamar with the sanction of the *panchayat*, for adultery and persistent disobedience

In the Santal Perganas a *sal* leaf is torn in two or a stick broken to symbolise the separation of the couple. Divorced women may marry again provided they give a feast to the members of the caste by way of atonement for their previous misconduct.

Their religion is a low type of Hinduism (*vide* Chap. IV) The Dosadhs claim to be orthodox Hindus, but their chief deity is Rahu to whom they offer sacrifices of animals and the fruits of the earth, in order to avert diseases, or in fulfilment of vows A Dosadh Bhakat or Chatiya usually presides

The dead are usually cremated but occasionally buried and a *sraddh* ceremony more or less orthodox is performed on the eleventh day after death.

Occupation —The social rank of Dosadhs is very low Their characteristic occupation is to act as watchmen (chaukidars), village messengers, grooms, elephant-drivers, grass and wood cutters, punkah-coolies and porters They bear a high character as carriers and are popularly believed to repress their criminal instincts when formally entrusted with goods in that capacity

Dosadhs occasionally work as cooks or grooms for Europeans Some Dosadhs hold small allotments of land rent-free in lieu of the services rendered by them to the village, but generally speaking they hold a low place in the agricultural system, many of them never rising above the status of landless day-labourers, owing to their improvidence and dissolute habits.

DOM :—

A Dravidian menial caste of Bengal, Behar and the United Provinces enumerated as undernoted at the recent Census

Bihar and Orissa	218,000 souls
Bengal	150,000 ,,
United Provinces	14,000 ,,
Domiciled in Assam	25,000 ,,

It should be noted that a short separate article regarding the *Doms of Madras* (Vizagapatam) has also been written

Dr Caldwell considers them to be pre-Dravidian though Risley, *whom we have followed*, disagrees and classes them as Dravidian The Maghaiya Doms of Behar, the finest specimens of the caste, have probably an admixture of Aryan blood.

There are several sub-castes which are endogamous, each of which is split into a large number of exogamous sections In Behar these sections are territorial, in Bankura they are clearly totemistic

Their marriage customs vary according to locality Among the Doms of Eastern Bengal, infant marriage *is the rule*, but in Western Bengal and Behar adult marriage still holds ground Here they are in contact with aboriginals, who practise adult marriage and their customs approximate to those of their neighbours

Polygamy is everywhere practised and poverty forms the only restriction on the number of wives a man may have Widows may marry again, and, in Behar, it is deemed proper that she should marry her deceased husband's younger brother Divorce is particularly easy and may be resorted to for persistent ill-temper.

The religion of the Doms also varies greatly according to locality and is as Risley says, a chaotic mixture of survivals from the elemental or animistic cults characteristic of the aboriginal races, and of observances borrowed in haphazard fashion from whatever Hindu sect happens to be predominant in the neighbourhood. So with their festivals, they observe all the Hindu festivals and as many more as they have time for!

Doms believe their original profession was the making of baskets and mats, but about half the caste have taken to agriculture They are usually landless day-labourers, though they frequently have risen to the status of occupancy raiyats They make excellent labour when well treated and many estates have found that when the Doms are given a *basti* to themselves and treated as human beings instead of untouchables they respond to the treatment and become valuable assets to an estate They are exceedingly prolific and settle down easily Garden-bred Doms are said to be second to none as reliable labour.

KUMHAR (*Kumar, Kumbhakar*) —

A widely distributed caste, found in practically every district and numbering during the recent Census 284,000 in Bengal, 528,000 in Behar and Orissa, 121,400 in the Central Provinces, 700,000 in the United Provinces, and 29,000 in Assam Their traditional occupation is the making of pots, but large numbers have taken to agriculture, and are excellent field labourers They emigrate fairly freely, and are not unwelcome on Tea Estates

The Kumhars say that at the marriage of Siva a water-jar was wanted, but no one knew how to make one, the god therefore took a bead from his necklace, and with it created a potter, while with a second bead he made a woman who became the potter's wife, this man was the father of all those who engage in the making of pottery and in memory of their creator all potters bear the title Rudra Pal As is to be expected in a large occupational caste, the endogamous sub-divisions of the caste are very numerous, and vary a good deal from district to district, some of the sub-castes only make black utensils, while others manufacture nothing but red, some again are regarded as debased The probabilities are that various sections are really different racially, and have secured admission to the caste merely on occupational grounds In Behar, Chota Nagpur and the Santal Perganas, as well as in the United and Central Provinces, the sub-castes are named after large tracts of country, *e g. Maghaiya, Kanaujia, Tirhutia, Ayodhia-basi, Bangali*, and even *Turk-Kumhars* are found We are not surprised therefore to find the rules of exogamy varying widely In Bengal for instance, and especially in Eastern Bengal, where the

Muhamedan influence is strong, only one or two sections are known to the caste, in Behar, Chota Nagpur and in the Central Provinces we find septs of the type we know among the Mundas and Uraons, totemistic in origin obviously, each sept reverencing some animal or plant with which a fictitious relationship is claimed The entire caste also refrain from eating, and even go so far as to worship, the *sal* fish, because the rings on its scales resemble the wheel which is the symbol of their craft It is curious to note that the Kumhars are beginning to be somewhat conscious that their names are open to misconception, and Risley tells us that they explain that the sept titles are really the names of certain saints, who being present at Daksha's horse sacrifice, transformed themselves into animals to escape the wrath of Siva, whom Daksha, like Peleas in the Greek myth, had neglected to invite There are several other instances among the Kumhars of an effort to camouflage their real origin, which in many cases is clearly Dravidian

In Behar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur, Kumhars still permit girls to be married as adults, though they hold infant marriage to be more respectable Everywhere a bride-price is paid, as is the custom among aboriginals Polygamy is permitted to the limited extent that a man may take a second wife if his first is childless, or in some cases, where she has not borne him a son It is stated by some authorities that even this is not permitted unless the first wife consents Divorce is allowed on the ground of unchastity, with permission of the *panchaiyat* Widow re-marriage is not forbidden

Notwithstanding their supposed descent from Siva, Vaishnavism seems to be the favourite religion of the caste Their religious observances do not differ materially from those of other Hindu castes of similar social standing In Chota Nagpur, we find a more primitive type of Hinduism, though all the gods of the regular Pantheon are worshipped, we find offerings to the local deities, the mountain gods, and the spirits of the woods and the wind Brahmans are employed, and the dead are cremated in the ordinary manner, *sradh* ceremonies being performed on the eleventh day, while for the benefit of ancestors in general, libations (tarpan) are poured forth in the month of Aswin every year The

They are divided into four subcastes, which again are split up into a large number of septs of clearly totemistic origin The septs closely resemble those of the Mundas, and it is probable that the caste consists of infusions of members of various races who have adopted the profession of workers in bamboo They are usually indistinguishable physically and in their speech from the people among whom they have made their homes, and there can be no doubt but that many pose as Mundas, Uraons and Kharias when tendering themselves as recruits for Assam. Their religion is closely akin to that of the Mundas which has been discussed at length in the article on that tribe

SUKLI :—

A small cultivating caste peculiar to Midnapur, numbering about 20,000 The origin of the caste is obscure, but they say they are descended from a Rajput named Bir Singh, who came to the district some six hundred years ago There are three sub-castes, the sections of which are of the ordinary Brahmanical type Their religion and customs too are of no particular interest, being of the standard Hindu type, most of them are Vaishnavas Agriculture is their sole occupation

RAJWAR :—

A non-Aryan cultivating caste totalling about 200,000 in the last Census, being found particularly in Gaya, Shahabad, Ranchi, Palamau, Manbhum and the Santhal Perganas In each of the districts Gaya and Manbhum about quarter of the total caste are found, large numbers also dwell in Midnapore

They are most probably a branch of one of the aboriginal races and they appear to connect themselves traditionally with the Bhuiyas In Sirguja and the adjoining States they declare themselves to be fallen Kshatriyas, but Risley doubts whether there is any foundation for this belief There are several sub-castes divided into sections some of which are quite obviously totemistic All these sections are exogamous

The caste have no special interest from the point of view of religion or marriage customs, and are indeed very similar to the

Bhuiyas in this respect The majority are landless day labourers and the caste is certainly a likely field for recruiting purposes

TANTI (*Tantiabaya, Tantubaya, Tatwa, Tutwa*) —

The weaver caste of Bengal and Behar, probably a functional group developed under the pressure of the natural demand for woven cloth Their tradition represents them as born from Siva Das or Gham Das, who was born from the sweat (*gham*) that fell from Siva while he was dancing, and his wife Kusbati who was created by Siva from a blade of *Kusa* grass Siva Das had four sons—Balaram, Uddhab, Purandar and Madhukar who were the ancestors of the four sub-castes bearing these names There is a very large number of sub-castes, each sub-divided into a large number of exogamous septs It is curious to notice that in Bengal proper these septs take the names of localities, but in Behar and Orissa they are of the type with which we have become familiar in discussing aboriginal tribes, that is, they are totemistic, and have the names of animals, plants and birds Like the Kumhars therefore they may be regarded as having originated from very varied sources, and as having been admitted to the caste mainly on ground of identity of function We find for instance the Chamar-Tanti and the Kahar-Tanti sub-castes which seem to indicate that they are composed of some members of the Chamar and Kahar castes who have taken to weaving

In religion, marriage and funeral customs the Tantis resemble other similar castes, when living among orthodox Hindus they approximate to their neighbours In the wilds of Chota Nagpur and Orissa, however, their Hinduism is tinged by the Animinism of those among whom they live A bride price is however paid almost everywhere, despite the fact that self-respecting Hindus are accustomed to pay for their bridegrooms In Bengal the Tantis are served by Brahmans, but this is by no means the case in Behar, where the place of the Brahman is supplied by members of the caste who have joined some religious order, or by the sister's son of the person at whose instance or for whose benefit the particular religious office is being performed

Although Tantis admit weaving to be their immemorial profession, many of them have been driven of late years by the influx

of cheap machine-made goods to betake themselves to agriculture Whether or no the cult of *Khaddar* will stimulate a drift in the opposite direction is still on the knees of the gods The cultivating Tanti is for the most part a small occupancy raiyat, but large numbers are landless day labourers They emigrate freely as do also their first cousins the Mahars of the Central Provinces

Tantis are distributed evenly over all the recruiting districts of Behar and Orissa and over Bengal They totalled in 1921, 998,000

And are distributed as follows —

Behar and Orissa	600,000
Chota Nagpur Division	42,000
Orissa Division	119,000
Feudatory States	36,000
Bengal	319,000
Assam	76,000

RAUTIA —

A land-holding and cultivating caste of Chota Nagpur, whom Risley suspects of being non-Aryan origin, with a considerable infusion of Aryan blood indicated by their refined features and complexion In some districts the inferior type of Rajputs are called Rauts, and the Rautias claim equal status with Rajputs Their own traditions are that they belonged to a Hindu army of invasion and were left in charge of the " king's highway " They certainly in many cases hold large grants of villages as service tenures It is just as likely that they are Aryans with a strong infusion of Dravidian blood, and this view would square more with their status as landholders They call themselves by the titles *Ganjhu, Baraik* and *Kotwar*

There are two endogamous sub-castes, the Barh-gorhi and the Chot-gorhi, the latter of whom eat fowls and wild pig and drink spirits, all of which things are forbidden for members of the former sub-caste Risley thinks that the Chot-gorhi were the first settlers who were ousted for some breach of caste rules, it is possible, however, that the differences arose from the type of women the two classes took as wives The Rautias vary in appearance from the duskiest aboriginal type to the fairest Rajput cast of feature Both sub-castes are sub-divided into exogamous groups, several of which

are totemistic, while others are eponymous and territorial. The section name descends by the male line, and marriage within the group if forbidden.

Girls are married as infants or adults, but usually about the age of eighteen. Polygamy is permitted, and widow re-marriage allowed. The ritual used at marriages is a curious mixture of the Hindu form and aboriginal usage, both parties go through a marriage to a mango-tree in the first instance. The essential and binding portions of the ritual, at which Sakadwipi Brahmans officiate, are the knotting together of the clothes of the bride and bridegroom, and *sindurdan*, which is effected by smearing on the bride's forehead a drop of blood drawn from the little finger of the bridegroom and *vice versa*. Marriages are arranged by the parents of the parties, and a bride-price is fixed.

As in the case with their marriage customs, so also is their religion a mixture of Hinduism and Animism. "Behind the fairly definite personalities of the greater gods of the Hindu pantheon loom, in the background, through a fog of ignorance and superstition, the dim shapes of Bar-pahar (the Marang Buru or mountain of the Mundas), Bura-Buri, the supposed ancestors of mankind, the seven sisters, who scatter cholera, small-pox and cattle plague abroad, Goria, the village god—a sort of rural Terminus, and the myriad demons with which the imaginations of the Kols people the trees, rocks, streams and fields of its surroundings."*

Their festivals are practically those of the Mundas and Uraons among whom they live, and need no special description.

Rautias believe military service to have been their original occupation, but at the present day most members of the caste are agriculturists. The chief men of the caste are zemindars, but as stated above, there are many types, and we find large numbers as raiyats with small holdings, while others are merely field labourers. They are excellent cultivators and emigrate under economic stress, as they will not turn to an occupation other than agricultural. Their succession laws are curious, the eldest son inherits the whole of the property subject to the obligation of providing maintenance for his brothers and sisters. In each generation therefore landless younger sons are thrown on their own resources, and the offer of land is a sure temptation.

* Risley

There are some fifty thousand of this caste mostly located in the Ranchi District.

MUCHI (*Mochi, Rishi*) —

The leather-dressing and cobbler caste of Northern India, by origin doubtless a branch of the Chamars though its members now repudiate the name and claim to be a distant caste of a somewhat higher position. In this connection, *vide* Mr Nesfield's theory of caste quoted in Part I where he suggests that the grading of castes follows the order in which a trade has been evolved. The ordinary Hindu does not consider the touch of a Muchi so impure as that of a Chamar and there is a Hindu proverb to the effect that "dried or prepared hide is the same thing as cloth," thus permitting the use of leather shoes. The Muchi does not eat carrion as does the Chamar, nor will he touch pork, his wife also does not practise midwifery.

The caste has several sub-divisions, of which those of special interest to the Tea Planter are the *Bara-bhagiya* who profess to be only cultivators, the *Chasa-Kimur* or the *Chasa-Kolai* who are agriculturists and the *Betna* who make cane baskets and cultivate. Muchis of these sub-castes emigrate freely and are, when due allowances are made for their love of strong liquor, useful labour.

The majority of the caste belong to the Saiva sect, but a large proportion of the Betnas are Vaishnavas. Most of their religious ceremonies resemble those of other Sudras while certain special observances are similar to those of the Chamars. The usual Hindu festivals are kept, the chief being that in honour of Visva Karma on the last day of Bhadra.

In marriage they follow the ordinary rules as to prohibited degrees and permit the marriage of two sisters to the same man, provided the younger is not married first. Divorce and polygamy are permitted. Widow re-marriage is by the *Sanga* or *Nika* form. The children of *Sanga* marriages are deemed to be in a sense degraded, and, if males, have to pay a heavy fine before they can obtain wives.

Like Bauris and Bagdis, the Muchis admit into their community members of any caste higher than their own, the new member being required to give a feast to the caste *panchayat*, and to

eat with them in token of fellowship This, of course, happens usually only when a man has been turned out of his own caste for a *liaison* with a Muchi woman

The caste numbered 924,000 during the recent census.

MUSAHAR (*Bhuiya, Sada Banvaj, Banmanush*) —

A non-Aryan cultivating servile caste of Behar and the United Provinces, who appear, as Risley claims, to be an offshoot of the Bhuiya tribe of Chota Nagpur (*vide* article on Bhuiyas) Nesfield thought they were related to the Savaras and Cheros It is clear however that they are some fragment of an aboriginal tribe

The name *Musahar* is usually derived from two Hindi words signifying *rat-taker* Nesfield pointed out that the eating of rats was too widespread to explain the name of this tribe He suggests *Masu* flesh and *Hera* seeker, signifying " hunter " The same objection as in the case of rat-taker would seem to apply to this derivation The alternative name *Ban-manush* signifies " man of the forests " The Musahar himself claims to be a sub-division of the Ahir caste The Ahirs appear as their hereditary enemies, in all their legends, wonder-tales of exploits of cattle-lifting and battles for possession of forests

There appear to be several sub-castes, *e g*, the *Tirhutia* and *Maghaiya, i e*, territorial designations Each sub-caste is split up into a number of exogamous sections In their marriage regulations the caste is very similar to the Bhuiyas Polygamy is said to be unknown, widows may re-marry by the *Sagai* form, and the widow is not required to wed her late husband's younger brother Divorce is permitted with the sanction of the caste *panchaiyat*, for infidelity on the part of the wife The husband breaks in two a piece of dried grass (*Khar*) in the presence of the *panchaiyat* and formally renounces his wife by saying that in future he will regard her as his mother

Risley points out that the religion of the Musahars illustrates with remarkable clearness the gradual transformation of the fetishistic Animism characteristic of the more primitive non-Aryan tribes into the debased Hinduism practised in the lower ranks of the caste system Kali alone of the standard gods of the Hindu

pantheon is worshipped by the sacrifice of a Khasi by the men and and of wheaten cakes by the women In parts of Gaya and Hazaribagh she is regarded as a sort of local deity, her shrine being on the outskirts of the village and the hog being the usual sacrifice Six *Birs* or heroes, believed to be the spirits of departed Musahars who exercise a highly malignant activity have constantly to be propitiated, and every two or three years they demand a collective sacrifice of a costly and elaborate character

The Musahars have not yet attained the dignity of having Brahmans of their own, but consult them as experts in fixing auspicious days In the matter of funeral ceremonies the tendency is to imitate Hindu usage, the *Sradh* being performed about ten days after death, and a regular worshipping of dead ancestors being fixed for a day in October

The bulk of the caste are field labourers very few having land of their own They make useful labour on tea estates

The caste numbered 635,000 during the recent census, spread fairly regularly over Behar and the Eastern United Provinces

10,800 were found in Assam

KAUR.—

A caste of Jashpur, Udaipur, Sirguja, and other tributary states who claim to be descended from the Kamavas or sons of Kura, whose war with the Pandavas is described in the Mahabharata They are however obviously of Dravidian origin, " being a dark, coarse-featured, broad-nosed, wide-mouthed and thick-lipped race,—divided into totemistic sections " *

There are five sub-castes, some of which are orthodox Hindu, while others, *e g*, the Rathiya, are indistinguishable in their customs and beliefs from the aboriginals among whom they live. Marriage is forbidden in the same section, the binding part of the ceremony is " sindurdan ", divorce is permitted and widow remarriage allowed A point of interest is that though professing Hinduism, the Kaurs bury their dead, *following the aboriginal* usage

* Dalton

The Kaurs are excellent cultivators and have been responsible for bringing large areas of jungle land under the plough. In the Feudatory States they hold land on special terms as to rent, having the status of *Khuntkattidars* or original clearers of the soil.

KEWAT (*Keot*) —

A fishing and cultivating caste of Behar, found in small numbers also in the United Provinces and the Central Provinces. They are also largely engaged in personal service among higher classes of natives They numbered about half a million during the recent census, being spread over Behar, Orissa, the Feudatory States and the Manbhum District of Chota Nagpur Their origin is uncertain There are five sub-castes, which seem to follow an *occupational* sub-division the Gaibhait, for example are cultivators, while the Machua sub-caste are boatmen and fishing folk, the Bahiawak are personal servants and are looked upon as degraded

In religion the Kewats are orthodox Hindus who regard Bhagavati as their special goddess, but they also worship the snake-god Bisahari and other minor gods Their festivals, marriage and funeral ceremonies are of the usual Hindu type and require no special mention

The Kewat is a good cultivator and makes a useful tea garden coolie, inclined to settle down, if he finds he can be comfortable.

They numbered 1,150,000 in the last Census of whom 174,000 are found in the Central Provinces, 483,000 in the United Provinces, and Behar and Orissa 393,000

KOSHTA (*Mahara, vide* article on Mahara, the Central Provinces section)

A weaving and cultivating caste of Chota Nagpur who believe their ancestors to have immigrated from the Central Provinces The name *Koshta* is only applied by outsiders, the caste calling themselves *Mahara*

They are subdivided into exogamous sections, most of which appear to be totemistic, but there is nothing to show that any reverence is paid to the totems whose names the sections bear. They are

agrees with neither view and thinks they have too long been a distinct caste and have been too much affected by Hindu influences for it to be possible to frame any plausible hypothesis regarding the elements of which they are made up They have the usual mythological explanation of their own origin which however gives no real clue to their descent

There are thirteen sub-castes, all of which are sub-divided into sections which are exogamous Some of these sections are of the territorial type, others are distinctly totemistic The actual ceremony of marriage is of the usual lower class Hindu type. Widow marriage in the *sagai* form is permitted

Koiris profess to be orthodox Hindus belonging to the Saiva or Sakta sects Risley, however, observes that the quality of their orthodoxy seems to vary with locality and may perhaps be gauged by the character of their minor gods In Chota Nagpur, for instance, we find them paying reverence to the aboriginal Marang Buru or Barpahari "Mounds of dried clay representing these are found in every house, and there is often a larger mound with a *tulsi* tree in the courtyard, which, according to Colonel Dalton, is sacred to the entire group of deities" In Chota Nagpur they observe the ordinary Hindu festivals and all the aboriginal *poojas* So elsewhere living among Hindus, they are fairly orthodox

In the neighbourhood of large towns the Koiri is a market gardener, growing and selling all kinds of vegetables A large proportion are, however, landless day labourers They are magnificent cultivators and very industrious and those who have emigrated to tea estates have proved to be extraordinary good labour The lure of land of their own however prevents them settling down to any extent

KORWA :—

A Dravidian tribe of Sirguja, Jashpur and Palamau, who claim to be the original inhabitants of the country they occupy

The hill Korwas of Sirguja have the curious legend that they are descended from the scare-crows set up to frighten wild animals by the first men who raised crops in Sirguja, which were animated

by the Great Spirit to save his votaries the trouble of continually making new ones *

The Korwas appear to be divided into four sub-tribes, the Agaria Korwa, probably a cross with the Agarias, the Dand Korwa and Dih Korwas who are settled in regular villages and the Paharia Korwa, who live in the hills and are the wildest branch of the tribe The sub-tribes are further sub-divided into exogamous totemistic septs of the usual type

Of their religion little is known Colonel Dalton says that in Sirguja they sacrifice only to the spirits of their ancestors and this the Khuna Rani, a blood-thirsty goddess dwelling in a cave over-goats The families of the Dewan of Jashpur and the Thakur of the Kallia Estate, the only Korwas who now hold any considerable landed property, affect to have adopted Hinduism, and spurning alliances with the ordinary Korwas, have continued interbreeding for several generations, although they dare not altogether disown the spirits of the hills and forests that their ancestors adored, they have each at their headquarters a Korwa Baiga to propitiate the gods of the race

The men of the tribe affect to hunt for a living and do a little cultivation The burden of providing for the family falls heavily on the women who, besides the ordinary housework, spend long hours in digging up edible roots, cutting wild vegetables, hewing wood and drawing water while their lords roam the forest with their bows and arrows The system of agriculture is primitive, they cultivate only virgin soil and clear jungle by *jhuming,* frequently changing their homesteads They also trade in forest produce—honey, bees-wax and stick lac from which of recent years they have derived a considerable revenue

They have been responsible recently for one or two small risings which required suppression by military police from Ranchi When persuaded to emigrate, they made good labour, particularly the women.

* Risley

KORA :—(*Kaora*, Khayra, Khaira) —

A Dravidian caste of earth workers and cultivators in Chota Nagpur and Western Bengal, probably an offshoot from the Munda tribe, who numbered in the last Census —

District	Number
Manbhum	20,000
Santal Parganas	5,000
Orissa States	10,000
Sambalpur	10,000
Monghyr	2,200

The Khayras or Koras of Manbhum and Bankura have well marked totemistic sections of the same type as the Mundas, who admit that some sort of affinity probably at one time existed between themselves and this tribe

The Koras of the Santal Perganas claim that they came from Nagpur and that their special function is to prepare *Khair* (catechu) for use in connection with betel, though there is nothing to show that they ever followed this occupation Further east, the totemistic section names seem to be dropped, but the caste is divided into four sub-castes, *viz* —Dhalo, Molo, Sikharia and Badamia, who still retain, however, a memory of their original settlements and claim relations with the Dhalbhum and Manbhum sections of the tribe. In Bankura the four sub-castes are strictly endogamous, but further east Molos and Sikharias intermarry The Hinduised Kharias of Central Bengal have developed a mythological legend to the effect that they were generated by the bellowing of the miraculous cow Kamadhenu when Viswamitra came to take her away from the sage Vasishtha and that they with other soldiers born from the cow drove off the offending Kshatriya *

Where the exogamous groups have been preserved the rule is that a man may not marry a woman of the same totem as himself, but on the mother's side the totem is not taken into account and the supplementary rule of marriage being prohibited for three generations in the descending line has been adopted

---

* Risley

We are mostly interested in the Bankura, Santal Pergana and Western Koras, but may note in passing that those further east have adopted infant marriage as befits good and true Hindus In these Districts and in Chota Nagpur marriage is adult In Bankura there is a very interesting modification of the ceremony of putting on sindur, or red lead, which, as has been stated, is probably the modern and less painful equivalent of the blood tie of early marriage ceremonies This modification consists in the application of the sindur with the handle of the cutter used for slicing the areca nut In Manbhum the bride and bridegroom are made to stand one behind the other on a bundle of straw laid on the top of a bullock yoke and the bridegroom, whose place is in the rear, reaches forward and smears vermilion three times on the bride's forehead

A widow may marry again, but must observe the prohibited degrees, she may not marry her husband's elder brother and is under no special obligation to marry her husband's younger brother, though she may do so Widow marriages are known as *Sangha*

In religion the Koras affect to be orthodox Hindus, and maintain village and household deities to whom goats, fowls, pigeons, rice and sugar are offered by Deogharia Brahmans who minister to the tribe In Manbhum Brahmans are not employed, but a member of the caste called the Laya or Naya acts as priest The Koras in fact in their religion, as in other aspects, are an interesting example of the gradual absorption of an animistic aboriginal race into Hinduism So in respect to their funeral customs, some sections bury while others burn, and a meagre imitation of the Hindu *sraddh* ceremony is becoming the fashion

The caste believe tank-digging, road-making and earth work generally to be their characteristic profession In West Bengal they are found in possession of *ghatwali* tenures, a fact which indicates they were among the earliest settlers in that part of the country (*vide* article on *Bhumij*), elsewhere are also small cultivators

BARHI (*Barhai*) —

The carpenter caste of Behar found all over the recruiting districts Large numbers have taken to agriculture and hold land as occupancy raiyats

Their social and religious customs call for no particular comment, they are orthodox Hindus and hold the beliefs outlined in Chapter IV They rank with Goolas and Koiris

HARI (*Mihtar*) —

A menial and scavenger caste of Bengal proper, found also in Manbhum and the Feudatory States of Orissa in fairly large numbers Some authorities treat the Ghasi as a sub-caste of the Haris, but we have followed Risley in regarding them as a separate caste

There are several sub-castes, but no septs—marriage is both infant and adult The ceremony itself somewhat resembles aboriginal usage and a bride price is paid Their religion is a crude Hinduism, which calls for no special remark

Many Haris find employment as agricultural day-labourers and as syces They have emigrated freely to tea estates where they have a reputation for their capacity for drinking strong liquors.

BANWAR.—

A small tribe, probably of Dravidian descent found in the Santhal Perganas They are probably an offshoot of some aboriginal tribe of the neighbourhood, having accepted Hinduism

They are, for the most part, landless day-labourers and their customs and religion need no special attention

BIND —

A large non-Aryan caste of Shahabad, Monghyr and the districts of the Tirhut Divisions totalling some 70,000 They also are similar to the Nunias and engage in agriculture, earthwork, fishing, hunting and making saltpetre Mr Sherring treats them as a branch of the Nunias, but Risley conjectures that the Nunias are a functional group which branched off from the Binds when they took up the manufacture of salt

There are two sub-castes, which are sub-divided into exogamous *muls*, but their marriage customs present no exceptional features and are similar to those of other castes of a similar status (*vide*

NUNIA) Their religion is, on the surface at least, orthodox Hinduism of the degraded type, but *they are highly* superstitious and we find survivals of primitive Animism among them

CHAIN :—

A cultivating and fishing caste which Risley thinks is an offshoot of some non-Aryan tribe Some 10,000 are found in the Santhal Perganas, the rest of the tribe being in Eastern Bengal They are also found in Oudh They are found *as* a *rule* as occupancy or non-occupancy raiyats and as landless day-labourers

Their social and religious customs call for no particular attention, they resemble the Nunias and Pasis in their social organisation

DHOBA .—

The washerman caste of Bengal and Orissa who claim descent from Neta Muni or Netu Dhopairi, who washed the clothes of Brahma

Hindus are forbidden to wash their own clothes and hence the caste is very widely distributed As usual with occupational groups, there are a very large number of sub-castes, these subcastes eat and drink together but never inter-marry

The Dhobas are Hindus and their religious and marriage customs present no special features A bride price is however paid The Dhobas of Orissa appear to have traces of totemistic septs and certain of their customs are tinged with those of their aboriginal neighbours

Several Dhobas have taken to cultivation, but the caste is not of much importance to the Tea Industry as labour

DHOBI —

The washerman caste of Behar, entirely distinct from the Dhoba Risley thinks the Dhobis are descended from the Doms but admits this large functional caste is probably made up of contributions from various sources

The Dhobis are divided into sub-castes of the territorial type·— *Maghaiya, Kananjia,* and the like Maghaiya Dhobis have exogamous sections (*muls*), but there is no trace of these in the other sub-castes

Their marriage customs and religion do not differ from those of other castes of the same social status

Large numbers of this caste have taken to agriculture and also work as carters

It is not known whether Dhobis are employed as labour to any extent on Tea Estates, but as there are nearly half a million in Behar and Orissa, the caste may be worth tapping

SUDHA (*Amayat* or *Amat*) —

A small caste of Orissa who believe their original occupation to have been personal service, but are now mostly engaged in cultivation There are four sub-castes —Bara-Sudha, Sano or Kabat Konia Sudha, Paila-Sudha and Butka-Sudha

The Bara-Sudhas profess to have *gotras* and to observe the rule that a man may not marry a women of his own *gotra*

The Butka-Sudhas are a primitive nomadic race, settling down for short periods, during which they reclaim waste lands, then desert the place when the soil is exhausted Marriage is adult and the ceremony is simple The headman (Behera) of the caste ties the right hands of the bride and bridegroom together in the presence of their parents and others, and the string is afterwards untied by the bridegroom's brother-in-law or the bride's younger sister.

Widows may marry again and divorce is permitted with the sanction of the caste *panchayat*

The regular Hindu deities seem to be unknown to the caste. They worship a goddess called Pancha-Khanda (five swords) with offerings of he-goats, fowls and rice The full moon of the month of Aghran is the proper time for this sacrifice and the Behera or headman officiates as priest, as the Butka-Sudhas have no Brahmans.

The dead are burnt and the ashes left on the spot No *sraddh* ceremony is performed

The caste abstain from beef, but eat the wild buffalo, the wild boar, and domestic fowls

The Bara and Sano-Sudhas are more advanced towards orthodox Hinduism, the first group having entirely adopted infant marriage Brahmans are employed for the worship of the regular Hindu gods The goddess Khambeswar is worshipped each year in the month of Bhadra The goddess is represented by a wooden peg fixed in the ground and the Brahmans take no part in her worship, which is conducted by a Dehuri or tribal priest

Bara-Sudhas believe military or personal service to have been their original occupation, and the fact that some of them hold service-tenures and bear the title of *Paik* seems to show that they must have formed part of the rude militia that once existed in the Feudatory States of Orissa

BARAI (or *Barui*) —

The betel cultivators (*pawn, supari*) are found scattered over the recruiting districts, but are not of much interest to the Tea industry They are Hindus and their religious and social customs call for no particular attention

DUMAL :—

An agricultural caste found in the Uriya country and particularly in the Sonpur Feudatory State numbering in all about 60,000 They say they are a branch of the Gaurs, and derive their name from a village Dumba Hadap in the Athmallik State Risley thinks they are a group of local formation

There are no sub-castes but they have a complicated system of exogamy Russell says they have three kinds of divisions, the *got* a sept, the *barga* or family title and the *mitti* or earth from which they sprang Marriage is forbidden only between persons who have the same *got, barga* and *mitti*, if any of these is different it is allowed The *gots* are of the familiar totemistic variety, while the names of the *mittis* indicate origin in the Orissa Feudatory States. The marriage of girls must be celebrated before

adolescence or pain of a heavy penalty on the girl herself, who is taken to the forest and tied to a tree with thread which signifies permanent exclusion from the caste A small bride's price is paid and the ceremony itself is presided over by a Brahman. Offerings are made to the ancestors who are invited to attend the ceremony as village gods.

The caste worship the goddess Parmeshwari, one of the wives of Vishnu or Jagannath There is a strong belief in witchcraft and a host of minor godlings are propitiated Their festivals are the usual Hindu feasts and need no special comment

They are excellent cultivators and should make good labour There is no evidence however that they have emigrated to any great extent

GHASI :—

A Dravidian fishing and cultivating caste of Chota Nagpur and Central India, who attend as musicians at weddings and festivals and also perform menial offices of all kinds

Ghasi women act as midwives and nurses to the higher castes Their origin is obscure, but Dalton regards them as Aryan helots and says —" If, as I surmise, they were Aryan helots their offices in the household or communities must have been of the lowest and most degrading kinds It is to be observed that the institution of caste necessitated the organization of a class to whom such offices should be assigned, and when found, stringent measures would be requisite to keep the servitors in their position We might thence expect that they would avail themselves of every opportunity to escape, and no safer asylums could be found than the retreats of the forest tribes Wherever there are Kols there are Ghasis, and though evidently of an entirely different origin, they have been so long associated that they are a recognised class in the Kol tradition of creation, which appropriately assigns to them a thriftless career, and describes them as living on the leavings or charity of the more industrious members of society."

The Ghasis of Chota Nagpur are divided into three sub-castes :—Sonaati, Simarloka and Hari. Ghasis marry their daughters in

infancy when they can afford it, but adult marriage is by no means uncommon Their marriage ceremony is a debased form of that in ordinary use among orthodox Hindus

Polygamy is permitted and widow marriage and divorce practised

Their religion is a debased type of Hinduism to be expected from their class and needs no special attention They keep the usual Hindu festivals as well as those of the tribes among whom they live

They are very largely employed as landless day-labourers and emigrate freely to Assam

They were distributed as noted below during the recent Census :—

	Souls
Behar and Orissa	62,000
Orissa States	20,000
Central Provinces	37,500

CHASSA (*Tassa*) —

The chief cultivating tribe of Orissa, probably as Risley thinks of non-Aryan descent They are divided into several sub-castes, each of which is sub-divided into several exogamous sections

Both infant and adult marriage are recognized by the caste, but the former is considered more respectable The ceremony is based on the standard Hindu ritual, the binding portion being the tying together of the right hands of the couple with a wisp of grass Widow marriage is permitted and divorce allowed on the usual grounds

Chassas are orthodox Hindus and employ Brahmans for religious and ceremonial purposes Reference should be made to Chapter IV for an account of their beliefs and festivals

The great majority of Chassas are engaged in agriculture which they regard as the characteristic occupation of their caste The majority are however landless day labourers, while some hold service terms

Second-generation Chassas are useful labourers, though in some estates they seem to thrive from the first The climate of Sylhet and the lower districts of the Assam Valley appears to suit them better than that of other areas

Their numerical strength and distribution according to the last Census Report is as follows —

757,000 in Bihar and Orissa
245,000 in Orissa States
268,000 in Puri District
41,000 in Angul
179,000 in Cuttack

TELI (*Taili, Tailika, Tailakar, Tailpal, Kalu*) —

A large oil-pressing and trading caste of Bengal, Behar and Orissa Their original profession was probably oil-pressing and the caste may be regarded as a functional group recruited from the respectable middle classes of the Hindus

They base their origin on mythological traditions The creation of the first Teli is ascribed to the god Siva, who, wishing to rub himself after bathing with oil instead of with the wood ashes which he generally used, made from the sweat of his arm, a man named Rupnarayan Teli or *Manahor Pal and inspired him with* the idea of an oil mill

The caste is sub-divided into —

(1) Gachua Teli—who make oil by crushing the seed between wooden rollers and collect the oil by a rag tied to a stick

(2) Bhunja Teli—who parch the seed and then extract the oil

(3) Ekadas Teli and (4) Dwadas Teli—both are said to have descended *from the two wives of the founder of the* caste Manohar Pal

(5) Kalu and his group use a mill with a hole to let out the oil

The marriage customs of the Telis of Bengal are of the orthodox Hindu type. Infant-marriage is fully established Widows may not re-marry and divorce is not recognised

Among the Telis of Chota Nagpur and Orissa totems are still held in reverence and regulate the inter-marriage of members of the caste Infant-marriage, though more usual than adult-marriage, is not reckoned absolutely essential, widow-marriage is permitted, the widow being usually expected to marry her deceased husband's younger brother. Divorce is recognised, and divorced women are permitted to marry again

In Bengal all Telis are Vaishnavas Their principal festival are those in honour of Lakshmi, Saraswati and Gandheswari, the last being celebrated at the *Dusselira* in Aswin (September-October)

They employ Brahmans as their priests

In Behar the worship of Vishnu does not appear to be a special characteristic of the Telis, who worship the minor deities

The festivals of the Behar branches are the usual Hindu feasts described in Chapter IV

The social status of the Telis differs in different parts of the country. In Bengal the higher sub-castes of Telis who have given up the oil trade and become bankers, money lenders, cloth dealers and shop keepers, rank among those castes from whom a Brahman may take water The Kalus, or working oilmen are classed in a lower group In Behar the whole caste seem to stand on this lower level, and no Brahman will take water from their hands

Large numbers of Telis have taken to agriculture owing to the loss of their occupation by the establishment of oil-mills They are however of the landless day-labourer type They emigrate fairly freely and are found on many estates in Assam where they have proved to be useful assets

Their distribution is as follows —

Bengal	395,000	United Provinces	712,000
Behar and Orissa	1,076,000	Assam	39,000

CHANDAL (*Chanral, Chang, Nama-Sudra*) —

Nama-Nishad, a non-Aryan caste of Bengal, engaged in boating and cultivation They are found in Burdwan and Bankura (78,000), Midnapore (42,000) and in Eastern Bengal in large numbers

The derivation of the name is uncertain and Risley conjectures that it may have been, like *Sudra,* the tribal name of one of the aboriginal races whom the Aryans found in possession of the soil Manu brands them as "the lowest of mankind" and in the Mahabharata, they are introduced as hired assassins At the present day the name is used throughout India as a term of abuse In Eastern Bengal the tribe refer to themselves as Nama-Sudra We find the usual stories to account for their degradation, *e g*, one tradition is that they were Brahmans who became degraded for eating with Sudras Dr Buchanan thought they were identical with the Dosadhs of Behar (q v) Risley thinks that they are a tribe which came into contact with the Aryans at a comparatively late period, when the caste system had already become fully developed and alien races were regarded with peculiar detestation.

The caste is sub-divided into several sub-castes which are endogamous, though inter-marriages have been known There is some doubt as to whether these sub-castes are not independent castes

The marriage customs call for no particular attention, nor do the religion or festivals They are of the usual low class Hindu type

Chandals will work at anything and are found in Western Bengal as landless day labourers They also go freely to the Coal Mines and have emigrated to agricultural work in Assam fairly freely In Eastern Bengal they are the familiar boatmen on the Brahmaputra river in the vicinity of Goalundo

HADDI :—

The Haddis or Rellis as they are called are a low type of Uriya labourers

The following figures taken from the last Census Report give their numerical strength :—

23,000 throughout the Northern Circars (Vizagapatam and Ganjam)

They are divided into two exogamous divisions—the Rellis and the Chashadis and have numerous septs, the chief being the Hathi (elephant)

All matters of importance amongst the Haddis are settled by two recognised headmen known as Behara and Nayako These men have the power to impose fines on offenders who violate the recognised customs of the caste and the money so collected is spent on drink for the community

Marriage is usually enacted after puberty and the prospective bridegroom's father, together with other members of the caste, proceed to the house of the intended bride If the match is considered to be suitable, the girl's parents clear a small space in front of the house and cowdung water is sprinkled over it The young man's party place thereon a pot of country spirit over which rice and leaves are thrown by the women of the village The betrothal is then publicly announced and free drink is distributed to mark the event The bride price, some betel leaves and a new cloth are presented prior to the day fixed for the wedding and on the appointed day for the actual ceremony, the bridegroom's party go to the house of the bride and conduct her to the house of her future lord Here a feast is held and in some cases, the couple are required to sit on a platform whilst the sacred fire is raised This last ceremony is not however always enforced The customary wrist threads are then tied and the hands of the pair are joined by the priest They are then pelted with rice after which the usual feasting takes place

Other than the village dieties, the Haddis worship no special God in the Hindu pantheon

The dead are burnt, although in some cases the body is buried Food is offered to the deceased on the first and tenth days after death This offering is made to an effigy of clay moulded by the

deceased's relatives The food is placed on a cloth near the spot where the body was cremated whilst those assembled call in a loud voice the name of the departed As soon as some insect has crawled on to the cloth, it is carefully folded up and taken to the spot where the household Gods are kept The insect is dropped on to the specially sanded floor and a new pot is placed over it

Thurston considers that this ceremony is but a variation of the jola jola handi (pierced pot) ceremony observed by other castes at the time of death *

Mr E A Stuart writing in the Madras Census Report of 1891 states that " the Rellis are a caste of gardeners and labourers found chiefly in the districts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam In Telegu, the word relli or rellis means grass, but whether there is any connection between this and the caste name, I cannot say They generally live at the foot of the hills and sell vegetables, mostly of hill production "

PANO :—

The Panos are a caste of weavers found in the Agency Tracts and Ganjam

Their numbers are as follows —

Agency Tracts	30,820 males	32,899 females
Ganjam	7,743 ,,	9,347 ,,

The caste would seem to be identical with the weaving and basket making caste of Pans found in Chota Nagpur and Orissa and their position among the Khonds is not unlike that of the Dombs amongst the hill people of Vizagapatam Certain sections of the Panos are brass beaters by profession whilst others find a means of livelihood as musicians and dancers at wedding ceremonies As a whole they are drunken and immoral and much despised by other castes

The Panos are divided into two distinct sections, the Khonda Panos and the Desa Panos The former are found in the hills whilst the latter reside in the plains Their marriage ceremonies

* Castes and Tribes of Southern India

are closely allied to those of the Khonds and the Dandasis, respectively The Khonda Panos make wedding presents in the form of gontis as do the Khonds With reference to the latter, a note is made in the Ganjam Manual that " the bride is looked upon as a commercial speculation and is paid for in gontis A gonti is one of anything, such as a buffalo, a pig or a brass pot, for instance, a hundred gontis might consist of ten bullocks, ten buffaloes, ten sacks of corn, ten sets of brass, twenty sheep, ten pigs and thirty fowls "

The Panos reverence their ancestors and at the time of a death, the relatives make offerings of food Similarly when a child is born, the village priest ascertains if the spirit of its great grandfather has been re-born in the child and, if he is conviced that such is the case, a sacrifice of pigs is made Animal sacrifices are also made in honour of the long departed

BAVURI :—

The Bavuri or Bauris, as they are sometimes called, are a low Uriya caste of basket-makers. They are domiciled chiefly in Ganjam where they are known locally as Khodalo They fall within the category of the untouchables although they claim the traditional occupation of palanquin bearers

According to the last Census Report, they numbered 24,121 males, 33,279 females Of this number, 9,816 souls only were returned as Telegu speaking

According to Risley " they were degraded for attempting to steal food from the banquet of the gods, another professes to trace them back to a mythical ancestor named Bahak Rishi (the bearer of burdens) and tells how, while returning from a marriage procession, they sold the palanquin they had been hired to carry, got drunk on the proceeds and assaulted their *guru* (religious preceptor) who cursed them for the sacrilege and condemned them to rank thenceforth among the lowest castes of the community " These people are divided into two endogamous sects, the Dulia and the Khandi The former claim superiority and are pleased to be called Khodalo and the caste priests are usually taken from this

sect Certain feeling still exists regarding the status of the two sects and a Khodalo if called a Dulia becomes offended at once

Tribal organisation.—Every group of villages with Bavuri inhabitants possesses its headman, who has jurisdiction over the group He is assisted in his duties by a number of Naikos who act as lieutenants Again, each village has its headman or Bhallobhaya or good brother and these people are responsible for law and order within their community The Bhallobhaya are empowered to deal summarily with minor offences, but in the case of a serious breach of caste etiquette or convention, a general council is called which is attended by the Beharas, Naikos and the more influential of the laymen After every few years an extraordinary meeting is convened and held in an open place just outside a central village All matters having an important bearing on the life and welfare of the caste are then considered and tribunals are formed to decide such matters as alleged adultery, associating with lower castes and re-admission into the caste of members, who for some reason have been ostracised In the case of a man convicted of adultery or found guilty of eating with a member of a caste of inferior status, the penalty is the payment of a fine. With a woman convicted of similar offences, the adjudicators are not so lenient and she becomes outcasted It is interesting to note, however, that in the event of adultery between a man of a higher caste and a Bavuri woman, the man is received into the Bavuri caste but the woman is not pardoned

Marriage:—The marriage customs of the Bavuris are not unlike those of several Hindu castes in many respects. Girls are married either before or after puberty and in the case of an adult marriage, the ceremony lasts for four days whereas with the marriage of a young girl, the festivities are extended over a period of seven days. The potential bride is selected by the bridegroom's parents in consultation with a Brahman and, if he approves of the match, the boy's parents inform the girl's father of the proposal and request him to appoint a day for the official bethrothal On this day, the

* " Castes and Tribes of Bengal "

bride's dowry is decided upon and it is necessary for the bridegroom's parents to announce the number of feasts they are prepared to give to the caste fellows in honour of the occasion In many cases this procedure is a mere formality, and if the parents are poor the claim to a caste feast is waived The actual marriage ceremony always takes place at night and on the previous evening, it is necessary for the respective parents to adjourn to the temple of the village goddess and subsequently to visit the houses of seven caste fellows From each is taken a small vessel of water which is deposited in a bowl and hung over the wedding dais On the following morning the bride and the bridegroom use this water for bathing

On the day of the wedding, the bridegroom proceeds to the bride's village and is usually met on the way by her party and the whole assembly proceed to the place fixed for the wedding ceremony After the Bhallobhaya has satisfied himself that the bride's party have received everything as arranged, she is led by her maternal uncle to the dais She carries a little salt and rice which she sprinkles over the bridegroom and then sits down beside him The grandfathers of the couple or the village clergy officiate and the pair are required to clasp each others hands, when a string dyed with turmeric is tied round the wrist This union of the hands is called *hasthagonth* and is considered to be the binding portion of the ceremony in the moral as well as the literal sense Turmeric water is sprayed seven times over their hands and seven married women throw leaves and rice over the heads of the couple They are then led seven times round the bedi whilst the priest proclaims " that the soot can soon be wiped off the cooking-pots, but the connection brought about by the marriage is enduring and relationship is secured for seven generations " With the exception of the feasting, the ceremony is over and the bride and bridegroom are taken indoors and fed

Death Ceremonies.—When a Bavuri dies, the body may either be buried or burnt The corpse is borne on a bier by four men and when the village boundary has been passed, the widow, in the case of a deceased husband, throws rice over the eyes of the dead man When the cortège arrives at the burial ground, the corpse is taken seven times

round the grave before it is lowered As the body is being laid to rest, those present chant —" Oh ! trees, Oh ! sky, Oh ! earth, we are laying him in It is not our fault " When the grave has been filled in, figures of a man and woman are drawn upon it, and the assembly throw earth on the images, saying " You were living with us, now you have left us Do not trouble the people " * After the mourners return home, they sprinkle the house with cowdung and water Food is then offered to the dead person and is deposited either in the vicinity of the house or subsequently at the cemetery Ten days after the funeral the village priest is called and the village assemble on the banks of a tank He offers up food which has been cooked seven times and served on seven fragments of cooking pots A new cloth is placed on the ground and in it are wrapped food, fruit and a shell the bundle is then placed in a new pot The eldest surviving son of the deceased then enters the water until it reaches his neck when the pot is thrown into the air and broken With the conclusion of this rite the mourners return home and undergo a process of purification at the hands of the priest who smears their hands with milk

Religion —The Bavuris do not worship any particular god of the Hindu pantheon, but reverence their ancestors and local village deities

GANDO .—

The Gandos, an Uriya caste found largely in the Ganjam district, are agriculturists and herdsmen Their traditional origin is claimed from Krishna, the King of herdsmen, but whether their occupation as herdsmen has been followed in substantiation of their traditional origin or the legend attached to themselves to add lustre to their calling, is not clear

Their numbers according to the last Census Report were —

Agency Tracts	13,279 males	13,449 females
Ganjam	30,607 ,,	38,653 ,,

* Thurston's " Castes and Tribes of Southern India," Volume I, pp 178 and 179

Of the sub-castes of the Gando, the Sollo Khondia is the most important Fourteen sections have in all been recorded and are —

Apoto	Dongayats.	Kolata	Ladia	Pattila
Behara	Dumalo	Komiriya.	Madhurapuriya	
Bolodiya	Gopopuriya	Kusilya	Mogotto	Sollokhondia

The Sollokhondias are purely agriculturists and herdsmen Amongst their gotras, the most common are Moiro (peacock), Nagasiro (cobra) and Kochiaro (tortoise) Caste councils are held to decide all matters of internal administration, such councils being presided over by the head herdsman

Marriage.—Infant marriage is common with all sections of the Gandos If a young girl is not married before she reaches the age of puberty, she is required to undergo a form of marriage with an old man, perferably her grandfather in the case of the Sollokhondias Amongst the other sections, the girl is married to a tree. In common with many other Uriya castes, the Gandos still observe fairly strict laws regarding the eligibility of distant relatives in marriage and a bride is selected with due regard to the requirements of the caste laws On the evening before the marriage ceremony, the friends and relatives of both the bride and bridegroom visit a temple, taking with them all the articles required in the forthcoming ceremony On their return, a number of girls visit from house to house begging water, which is used by the bridal couple on the following day for their baths On the wedding day, the bride's nails are pared and the bridegroom is shaved With the usual feasts and ceremonies the requirements of the wedding are completed

Death Ceremonies.—The dead, with the exception of children, are burnt After cremation, the relations of the deceased visit the burning ghat and, with the ashes, model the form of a man. To this image, food is offered and seven flags made of cloth dyed with turmeric are attached to the effigy The ceremonies last for ten days and on the tenth day a piece of bone which has been retrieved from the ashes is taken home and buried near the house of the

deceased On the twelfth day a process of purification is under gone by the agnates, which complete the requirements of the occasion with the exception of the Sradah ceremony which has to be performed annually on the Pongal Festival day

Religion —Like other Uriya castes, the Gandos pay special reverence to Lakshmi, particularly on "Lakshmi's varam" or Lakshmi days, *i e*, on Thursdays in the month of November The goddess is represented by a basket of grain upon which is placed a hair ball which has been vomited by a cow. The owner of the cow regards such a ball as a propitious augury for the prosperity of his family *

BINJHIA (*Binjia, Bijia, Binjhwar*).—

An agricultural and landholding tribe found in the South of the Ranchi District (5,000), in Sambalpur (37,000) and in the Tributary States of Gangpur, Sirguja and Patna Mr W H P Driver described them as a quiet unwarlike people, flat-faced and black, but of good physique, and wearing their hair in matted locks He considered them nearly allied to the Asurs or Agarias described in a separate article

Like many similar tribes, they are divided into two sub-tribes the Pahariya Binjhias and the Dand-Binjhiyas, so called from living respectively in the hills and in the plains Their traditions associate them with the Vindhya Hills, where the god Mahadeo is supposed to have created them by breathing life into a scare-crow

The Dand Binjhias are divided into four exogamous septs, *Nag* the snake, *Dadul, Bhari* and *Kasi* These are clearly totemistic

The Hill Binjhias have no septs, but for purposes of marriage, the *village* takes the place of the sept, that is, a man must find his bride from a strange village This is interesting and is the system found among the Khonds of the Khond Mahals It would appear that this is a survival of the pre-totem days, traces of which we still see in various tribes, *viz*, a treating of all co-villagers, irrespective of caste, as relatives (*via* Chapter on Marriage—Part I).

* Thurston Castes and Tribes

A man may marry two sisters provided he marries the elder first, a bride-price is paid, widow marriage (*sagai*) is permitted, it being considered the right thing for a widow to marry her deceased husband's younger brother, divorce is common, necessitating the return of the bride-price and marriage expenses

The binding part of the marriage ceremony is the *sindurdan* or the smearing of vermilion on the bride's forehead and knotting the clothes of the bride and bridegroom together Sometimes the parties are first married to a mango tree, though this is not considered essential nowadays

In matters of religion the Dand-Binjhias profess to be orthodox Hindus and employ Brahmans for the worship of the greater gods and dead ancestors The gods of the Paharija Binjhias are Singhbonga the Sun, Nindbonga the Moon, Debi and Mahadeo who are worshipped by a Binjhia priest called the Baiga-Pahan

The dead are burned or buried as is frequently found in similar tribes The festivals are those of their Munda neighbours—Phagua, Sarhul, Karma and the Harvest-Home

They speak the Gumari *patois* of Ranchi but those in contact with Mundas speak Mundari also Towards the south they speak Uriya *They make good cultivators and steady workers*

PARHAIYA (*Parhia*) —

A small Dravidian tribe of Palamau (Daltonganj), sub-divided into totemistic septs They worship Dharti Mai, the earth goddess Their religion and customs are similar to those of other tribes on the threshold of Hinduism and need no particular notice

Their occupation is agricultural labour, and to some extent cultivation

MAHILI :—

A Dravidian caste of labourers, palanquin bearers and workers in bamboo found in Chota Nagpur and West Bengal, distributed as follows during the recent Census —

Districts	Numbers
Santal Parganas	15,000
Ranchi	13,000
Manbhum	9,000
Purnea	4,000

They are divided into five sub-castes—*Bans Mahili* who make baskets and do all kinds of bamboo work, *Patar Mahili*—basket makers and cultivators, *Sulunki Mahili* who are cultivators and labourers, *Tanti Mahili* who carry palanquins, and *Mahili Munda* a small outlying sub-caste scattered all over the Ranchi District, who frequently find their way to Assam posing as Mundas They are also known as *Khangar Munda*

Risley says that from a comparison of the internal structure into totemistic septs with that of the Santals, it is quite clear that the first three sub-groups are merely a branch of the Santals, separated at a comparatively recent date The Mahili Mundas (Khangars) no doubt separated from the Mundas quite recently Risley thinks that the reason for the separation was the adoption of an occupation which was considered degrading There is a peculiarly revolting story told in the Ranchi District of the origin of the Khangars, which we cannot reproduce here, though it may be stated that it is alleged they are descended from the younger of two Munda Chiefs who committed a dietary indiscretion

The usual rule of exogamy of the totemistic sept governs marriage which is adult, with a tendency to infant marriage The tribe may be described as on the threshold of Hinduism and the usual anomalies appear A bride-price is paid, the bridegroom being married as a preliminary to a Mango tree, while the bride goes through the same ceremony with a Mahua tree At the entrance to the bride's house, the bridegroom, riding on the shoulders of some male relative and carrying on his head a vessel of water, is met by the bride's brother similarly equipped, and the two cavaliers sprinkle one another with water The bride and bridegroom are seated under a canopy of *sal* leaves and the bridegroom touches the bride's forehead five times with vermilion, and presents her with an iron armlet This is the binding portion of the ritual

Widow re-marriage is permitted and it is deemed right and proper that a widow should wed her deceased husband's younger brother, though this is not compulsory

Divorce is permitted and when a husband divorces his wife, he gives her one rupee and takes away the iron armlet which was given to her at her wedding

The religion of the Mahlis is at present a mixture of half forgotten Animism and Hinduism imperfectly understood They have not yet risen to the distinction of employing Brahmans and perform sacrifices to Barpahari, who is obviously the Marang Buru or great mountain spirit of the Santals in disguise They dispose of their dead by burial, but certain sections are beginning to cremate

Their festivals, as may be expected, partake of the character of both Hindu and Aboriginal *parabs* In fact they will join in any *tamasha* which may be afoot

KULTA (*Kolta* or *Kolita*) —

An important agricultural caste numbering about [illegible] They are mostly met with in the States of Patna (12,000), Sonpur (9,000) and Kalahandi (3,500), large numbers being found in Sambalpur According to tradition the Sambalpur Koltas immigrated from the State of Baud, where they had settled during their wanderings with Rama in the Oorya country According to another legend Rama, when wandering in the forests of Sambalpur, met three brothers and asked them for water the first brought water in a clean brass pot and was called Sudha (good mannered), the second made a cup of leaves and drew water from a well with a rope, he was called Dumal from dori-mal, a coil of rope, the third brought water only in a hollow gourd and he was named Koltha from Ku-rita, bad mannered

The Kolthas, Sudhas and Dumals thus acknowledge [illegible] connection and will take food together at festivals The K[illegible] are, however, probably an offshoot of the great Chassa [illegible] Several of their family names are [illegible] Chassas and there is actually [illegible] Kolta Chassa [illegible] Kultas will not, however, intermarry [illegible] Chassa caste. They have [illegible] married before maturity and it [illegible] table but [illegible]

a nominal marriage is arranged with an old man and the girl is subsequently disposed of as a widow

Widow marriage and divorce are allowed The caste worship the goddess Ramchandi whose principal shrine is at Sasara in the State of Baud Brahmans take water from them

The Kultas are excellent cultivators, very industrious and prepared to resort to any degree of litigation where land is involved They are very skilful in irrigation, but are not very popular, chiefly because of their greater prosperity

The rising of the Khonds in Kalahandi in 1882 was due to their being ousted from their lands by Kultuyas, a large number of whom had been imported by the Chief of Kalahandi These Kaltuya cultivators speedily got the Khond headmen and their tenants into debt and possessed themselves of all the best lands in the Khond villages In May, 1882, the Khonds rose and slaughtered more than 80 Kaltuyas, while 300 more were besieged in the village of Norla

Their religion and religious ceremonies, including those of marriage, birth, death and their festivals are governed by Hindu custom and need no special attention

MANA :—

A Dravidian caste of cultivators and labourers belonging to the Chanda District of the Central Provinces from where they have spread to Bhandara and Balaghat They number in all about 50,000 The origin of the caste is obscure, tradition asserts that they are pre-Gond, by whom they were ultimately conquered It is, however, surmised by some observers that they are in reality a section of the Gonds and this view is strengthened by a study of the internal constitution of the tribe They are divided into exogamous septs of the usual titular and totemistic types Their social customs are similar, the women dress like their Gond sisters.

They are good cultivators, and take up service as farm servants, watchmen and professional shikaris

MENA (*Maina, Deswali*) —

A well known caste of Rajputana which is found in the Central Provinces in the Hoshangabad, Nimar and Saugor Districts They are known in Assam usually as Deswalis They seem originally to have been an aboriginal or pre-Aryan tribe of Rajputana When the Rajputs advanced into this area, they probably intermarried with the Menas, as it is now generally recognised that the latter are a caste of the most mixed and impure descent Colonel Kennedy, who recently visited Rajputana, writes of them —

"There are two classes of Menas, Padya and Ujla The former are said to be the descendants of a criminal section of the tribe In Jaipur State they are compelled to wear black bands round their puggaries and to report themselves to the Police, whether they happen to be criminals or not The Ujlas are the non-criminal section of the tribe and are quite a sturdy lot The men reminded me of the good Deswali coolie that one sees in the Surma Valley They are a cheery lot, both men and women . in dress they resemble the wandering gipsy, whom we see in Eastern India The women are strong and are said to be good field workers, they wear the same sort of bunchy skirt, bodice and scarf over the head, which are the ordinary dress of women in these parts, but the Mena woman catch up the skirt between the legs like the Central Provinces women, except that the skirt is more ample If we import any of these people, it would be well to explain these peculiarities to the Tea Planter, else he may be prejudiced against them at first sight, putting them down as gipsies This season a family batch of United Provinces coolies was sent to a Dooars Garden The Manager was most indignant because the women wore trousers, and wrote that he did not want nautch girls"

In the Central Provinces, the Deswalis are regarded as excellent cultivators In religion they are orthodox Hindus Marriage takes place before puberty and a bride price is paid which is limited to a maximum of Rs 71 by caste rules Brahmans are employed to celebrate marriages A widow is usually taken by her late husband's younger brother, but if there be none, the elder brother may marry her, contrary

CHAMAR :—

The tanner caste of Bengal, Behar and Upper India, distributed as follows during the recent Census over the Recruiting Districts —

Total —11,264,000 souls

Distribution —

Assam	52,000
Behar and Orissa	1,147,000
Central Provinces	881,000
United Provinces	5,843,000
Bengal	152,000

Mr Nesfield was of opinion that the Chamar may have sprung out of several different tribes Some observers think that they are in part a degraded section of a higher race Risley, however, thought that the evidence adduced in favour of this view was not clear enough to override the presumption that a caste engaged in a filthy and menial occupation must on the whole have been recruited from among the non-Aryan races

Like all large castes, the Chamars are broken up into a number of endogamous groups or sub-castes Within these marriage is regulated by prohibiting unions between persons related to one another so long as the relationship is remembered The *Dhusia* sub-caste alone has exogamous sub-divisions

Marriages are usually infant, polygamy is permitted and no limit except that of means appears to be set to the number of wives a man may have But a man may not marry two sisters The Doms have this restriction, but most other castes allow such marriages An elder of the caste usually officiates at weddings, a Brahman being consulted to fix an auspicious day for the event During the marriage service the bridegroom sits on the bride's father's knee, a barber prepares and whitewashes a space where the couple are made to sit after the ceremony The caste elder, who officiates as priest, binds mango leaves on the wrists of the couple and chants mantras and the bridegroom performs *sindurdan* by smearing the bride's forehead and the parting of her hair with vermilion.

A widow may marry again and is expected to marry the younger brother of her deceased husband If she does not do so, the custody of the children remains with their paternal uncle and the widow forfeits all claim to her share of her late husband's estate

Chamars trace their descent from Ravi, or Rui Dass, the famous disciple of Ramananda at the end of the fourteenth century, and Chamars frequently, when asked what they are, claim to be " a Ravi Dass " They profess a dislike to Brahmans and the Hindu ritual, but observe many rites popularly supposed to be of Hindu origin, but which, Risley says, are more probably survivals of the worship paid to the village gods for ages before the Aryan invasion.

In Bengal, the Chamars profess to be of the deistic Sir-Narayani breed and the Mahant of that sect is regarded as the religious head of the tribe Their festivals are the Sri Panchami in Magh and the Nauami or ninth lunar day of Aswin On this day the old Dravidian system of devil worship is exhibited, one of the worshippers becoming possessed and, in his frenzy, prophesying

In Behar, the Chamars approximate to orthodox Hindus, and employ degraded Brahmans as priests They adore also several minor deities and a whole host of evil spirits and malevolent *bhuts*

In the Central Provinces, the ordinary Hindu and village deities are worshipped In Seoni, Chamars worship the castor-oil plant, in Chattisgarh, the majority belong to the reformed Sutnami sect They have the idea that the spirits of the departed are earth-bound and need to be propitiated Brahmans are not employed for ceremonies, but are consulted as to auspicious days

In the United Provinces, Chamars conform to the popular type of Village Hinduism Belief in witchcraft is strong and a sorcerer (*ojha*) is usually consulted in illness

The Chamars are employed in tanning leather, making shoes and saddlery and grooming horses They also serve as musicians

at weddings and other domestic ceremonies, their favourite instruments being the *dhol* or drum The Chamarins or female Chamars, distinguished throughout Bengal by their huge anklets of bell-metal, and elaborate tatooing of the forehead and arms, act as midwives The Chamars also act as agricultural labour and, for the sake of the improved status, emigrate freely, and make excellent workers They are inclined to drink heavily but are easily disciplined. They are very prolific and rapidly settle down into a permanent section of the labour force They vary widely, of course, there being " Chamars *and* Chamars "

The Bengal, Behar and Central Provinces Chamars are very superior to the Fyzabad and Basti variety, but as indicated above, they are probably of different races altogether Generally speaking the Chamar from jungly parts is worth having, from the more civilized tracts he is what one might expect one of his social position to be, lazy and dirty But all are easily disciplined and improve with good treatment

BEDIA :—

A small agricultural Dravidian tribe of Chota Nagpur numbering 5,000, supposed to be an offshoot from the Kurmis Their septs are totemistic In their marriages a barber officiates as priest

One of the Santal septs, which is supposed, according to a Santal legend, to have been left behind in Champa, bears the name of Bedia, and Risley thinks it not improbable that the Bedias may be actually a branch of the Santals who did not follow the main tribe in their eastward trek They do not, however, claim any connection with the Mundas or Santals

Their religion and marriage customs are similar to those of partially Hinduised aboriginals, and need no special notice

BAURI :—

A cultivating, earthworking, and palanquin-bearing caste of Behar whose features and complexion, says Risley, stamp them as of non-Aryan descent, although evidence is wanting to affiliate them to any particular tribe now in existence

According to one of their own stories, they were degraded for attempting to steal food from the banquet of the gods, another professes to trace them back to a mythical ancestor, Bahak Rishi (the bearer of burdens) and tells how, while returning from a marriage procession, they sold the palanquin they had been hired to carry, got drunk on the proceeds and assaulted their guru, who cursed them for the sacrilege and condemned them to rank thenceforth among the lowest castes of the community

The Bauris were distributed as follows during the recent Census —

Behar and Orissa	270,000
Santal Parganas	17,000
Cuttack	70,000
Puri	73,000
Manbhum	107,000
Assam	44,000

There are nine sub-castes which are endogamous —

(1) Mullabhumia,
(2) Sikharia or Goharia,
(3) Panchakoti,
(4) Mola or Mulo,
(5) Dhulia or Dhulo,
(6) Malua,
(7) Jhatia,
(8) Kathuria, and
(9) Pathuria.

Risley thinks some of these may perhaps be nothing more than different local names for what was originally the same sub-caste, but adds that they are distinct at the present day Most of the sub-castes are found in Manbhum and will not intermarry

Marriage between members of the same *gotra* is not forbidden, but the ban applies to relatives for so long as the relationship is remembered. The absence of compact exogamous groups among the Bauris has been attributed to their close contact with Hindus due to their profession of palanquin bearers, but there are still

distinct traces of totemism which, as has been seen, usually marches hand-in-hand with the exogamous group The red-backed heron and the dog are reverenced, the former being looked upon as the emblem of the tribe, which may not be killed or molested on pain of expulsion from the tribe As to the dog, Colonel Dalton was informed by certain elders that as they killed and ate cows and most other animals, they deemed it right to fix on some beast which should be as sacred to them as the cow is to Brahmans and they selected the dog, " because it was a useful animal while alive, and not very nice to eat when dead—a neat reconciliation of the twinges of conscience and cravings of appetite ! " This ingenious explanation, as Risley points out, shews that their own customs become unintelligible to the Bauris themselves, and serves to illustrate the tendency to imitate Brahmanical usages The horse also probably was a totem of the tribe, for they exhibit a great reluctance towards cleaning up a stable, and may not take up the occupation of syce, without suffering expulsion from the caste

Bauris, like the Bagdis, admit into their caste members of any caste higher than themselves in social standing Risley attributes this singular practice, which is entirely out of accord with the spirit of the caste system to the lax views of these two castes on the subject of sexual morality In every other caste a woman who has an intrigue with an outsider is expelled from the caste, the Bauris and Bagdis, however, welcome the outsider who is, of course, himself usually outcasted for the liaison

Marriage among the Bauris is either infant or adult, the former being considered " more respectable " Widows may marry again and are usually expected to marry their deceased husband's younger brother Divorce is recognised and is effected by the husband taking away the iron ring which every married woman wears and proclaiming to the *panchaiyat* the fact that he has divorced her Divorced wives may always marry again

The marriage ceremony is of the usual low caste Hindu type, *sindurdan* being deemed to be the essential part of the ceremony

Bauris profess to be Hindus of the Sakta sect, but in Behar and Orissa, their connection with Hinduism is of the slenderest

description. They worship Manasa, Bhadu, Barpahari and other local deities Manasa is the sister of the great snake-king Vasuki and is worshipped on the 5th and 20th of the four rainy months, Asar, Sraban, Bhadra and Aswin The great day is Nagpanchami, the 5th of the light half of Sraban, towards the end of August, when a four-armed effigy of the goddess, grasping a cobra in each hand is carried round the village with much music and finally thrown into a tank Bhadu is a female saint supposed to have been a daughter of the Raja of Pachete who sacrificed herself for the good of the people She is worshipped on the last day of Bhadra Barpahari or "great mountain" is our familiar friend "Marang Buru" of the Mundas and Santals and inhabits the highest peak in the locality The Bauris have no Brahmans, but their own priests officiate at all public worship, and are called Laya or Degharia Some land is usually set aside for the Laya which he holds rent free *(layali jami)*

In most districts, the Bauris cremate their dead, in Bankura they bury, with the head to the north and face downwards, the object of this attitude being to prevent the spirit from getting out and giving trouble to the living A rude funeral ceremony is performed on the eleventh day after death, when the relations feast together and the nearest relative of the deceased has his head shaved

The Bauris make excellent agricultural labourers In Manbhum and Bankura several hold service tenures in return for Police and Chaukidari services They were well known as workers in Indigo Factories and are among the best labourers in the Coal Mines They prefer agricultural labour, however, and consequently freely emigrate to Tea Gardens

' The Bauris enumerated in Assam are 43,000 and are all either extra Garden Coolies or employed at present on Tea Estates They still unfortunately exhibit signs of the taints which, according to their own legends, caused their downfall, and indulge freely in *lal pani* and the "sport of theft" '

KHARWAR:—(Kherwar —Titles Bhakat, Bhogta, Gamijhu, Ohdar, Pradhan)

(*Sub-Tribes* —In Palamau—Patbandh, Daulbandh, Kharii

In Ranchi—Deswari, Bhogta, Rant, Manjhia.)

A cultivating and landholding tribe of Chota Nagpur and South Behar—numbering during the last Census 80,000 in the following districts —

Shahabad	7,000
Bhagalpur	2,300
Ranchi	5,000
Palamau	59,000

Also found in the United Provinces Districts

There has been much discussion regarding their origin In Shahabad District (Arrah) they are quite advanced Hindus, but their social position varies greatly, some are found amongst the labouring classes, others have obtained positions as landowners, whilst others occupy the tableland to the south of the district, unmixed with any other tribe and are undoubtedly its original inhabitants They have, however, completely lost their original language They are probably related to the Cheros and their origin may be similar Colonel Dalton was of the opinion that the ruling chiefs of Ramgarh and Jashpur are members of this tribe who have nearly succeeded in obliterating their Turanian traits by successive intermarriages with Aryan families The more wealthy families claim to be Rajputs and call themselves Surajbanshi, *i e*, children of the Sun

An examination of their internal structure leaves little doubt of their Dravidian origin, many of their septs are certainly totemistic The Kharwars of South Ranchi regard the *Khai* grass as the totem of their tribe and will not cut it nor injure it while growing The Bhogtas are the most important sub-division of the tribe and form an endogamous group refusing to marry with the Deswari Kharwars. They are found in large numbers in Palamau, Sirguja

and the Ranchi hills adjoining these tracts The tribes and sub-tribes are divided into exogamous septs, and marriage is adult only in the poorer classes among whom also a bride-price is paid. In the marriage ceremony itself, each of the contracting parties must first be married to a mango tree, or to a branch thereof, and must exchange blood mixed with *sindur*, although in the final and binding act *sindur* alone is smeared by the bridegroom upon the bride's forehead and the parting of her hair The Bhogta and Manjhia sub-tribes sanction the marriage of a widow and deem it right for her to marry her late husband's younger brother. Deswari Kharwars, however, require widows to remain unmarried. Divorce is permitted if the wife is convicted of unchastity or if the couple cannot agree, divorced women being permitted to marry again in the *sagai* form

Colonel Dalton says that the Kharwars, like the Kols, observe triennial sacrifices Every three years a buffalo and other animals are offered in the sacred grove or Sarna, or on a rock near the village They have a priest for each village called the baiga or *pahu* (Mundari *pahan*) He is always a Bhuiya, Kharwar or Parheya Brahman priests are not allowed to interfere The deity honoured is the village god and as remarked elsewhere can only be worshipped by a member of the family of the original settlers on the village site

Occupation —Landholding and cultivation are regarded in Chota Nagpur as being the traditional occupation and most of the members of the tribe are substantial landholders Many of the Bhogtas have taken up the comparatively degrading occupation of basket-making and working in bamboo The law of inheritance is peculiar and is of interest to employers of labour, as it is responsible for much of the emigration The eldest son of the senior wife, even though he be much younger than half brothers by other wives, inherits the whole of the property But he is expected to provide for the maintenance of the rest of the family Daughters do not inherit at all In this way there are large numbers of Kharwars, Bhogtas and others constantly seeking other means of subsistence Intensive recruiting by gardens having contented families of Bhogtas and the other sub-tribes of Kharwars settled in their vicinity, might have good results.

MAULIK (*Laya, Naya*) —

A non-Aryan tribe of Manbhum and the adjoining Districts numbering in all about 10,000 who appear to be an offshoot of the Mal-Paharias of the Santal Perganas They are more or less Hinduised and their marriage customs and religion are similar to those of aboriginals just on the threshold of Hinduism Their gods still bear strong resemblances to the rude animistic deities of the Mundas and Oraons

They work as day labourers and collect jungle produce, lac and catechu, and emigrate in small numbers They also work on Coal Mines.

LOHAR :—

The blacksmith caste of Behar, Chota Nagpur, Bengal and the Central Provinces They were found in the following numbers over the Recruiting Districts at the recent Census —

Behar and Orissa	475,000
Central Provinces	174,000
United Provinces	661,000

Risley says that they are a large and heterogeneous aggregate comprising members of several different tribes and castes who in different parts of the country took up the profession of working in iron The local names give some hint of their mixed origin, *e g*, the *Lohar Manjhi, Danda Manjhi* and *Bagdi Lohar* of Manbhum, the *Sad Lohara*, Manjhal Turiyas (cf Turi) and the Munda Lohars of Ranchi District As is to be expected their customs vary from locality to locality, but as a general rule follow rather closely those of their more primitive neighbours So with their religion, some are orthodox Hindus, while others, *e g*, in Ranchi, are merely animists approximating to the Munda type

Their occupation is iron working, but very large numbers work as agricultural labourers, as they consider this improves their status They emigrate freely for the sake of improving their position and those from Ranchi frequently pose as Mundas or Oraons as they speak Mundari and Kurukh They make excellent labour, though addicted somewhat to the consumption of *lal pani*

HALBA (*Halbi*).—

A caste of cultivators and farm servants whose home is the South of the Raipur District and the Kanker and Bastar States They total over 100,000 One story of their origin is that they are sprung from scare-crows erected by an Uriya Raja for the protection of his crops, which were given life by Mahadeo at the request of Parvati when the god and goddess were taking a stroll It has been suggested that they originally belonged to the Telugu country and came with the Rajas of Bastar from the Deccan. There is an old Canarese word Halbar, meaning " old ones or ancients ' or " primitive inhabitants " from which it is thought their name has been derived

The caste have local divisions known as Bastarha, Chhattisgarhia and Marethia but the caste is everywhere divided into pure and mixed Halbas They are also divided into exogamous sections, some of a territorial denomination, others whose origin is clearly totemistic The totemistic divisions are called " barags," and many belong to a " thok " having some titular name which they use as a surname Marriage is avoided by persons having the same *thok* as well as between those of the same *barag*

The caste has a peculiar dialect of its own—a curious mixture of Uriya, Chhattisgarhi and Marathi, the proportions varying according to locality

Marriage is usually adult, and if a girl is not married before puberty, she is usually married to a Mahua tree The couple are seated on a plough-yoke placed close to the marriage post and throw bundles of rice consecrated by the Joshi (priest) over one another Red lead (sindur) plays an important part in the marriage ceremony Widow marriage and divorce are permitted The Halbas are Hindus of the Kallipanthi sect and abjure the use of flesh and alcoholic liquor They keep the ordinary Hindu festivals

The Halbas are excellent cultivators, some having risen to the rank of petty zemindars They emigrate freely in times of necessity In Bastar they are rather more primitive in their cultivation methods and practice *jhuming, i e*, shifting cultivation, sowing their crops on burnt out patches of forest.

An interesting example of the disinclination to change occupation is the fact that a Halba is punished with temporary exclusion from the caste if he grows lac or silk cocoons Considering the recent experience in Chota Nagpur, where recruiting was seriously affected by the high prices obtainable in the lac industry, one is rather inclined to wail with the Latin poet —" O si sic omnes ! "

It is also important to notice that in Bastar a man loses his caste if be is beaten with a shoe, except by a Government servant. Fortunately canes grow freely in Assam !

SONDI :—

The Sondis are a caste of toddy sellers found both in Ganjam and the Vizagapatam Agency Tracts They are also money lenders and perhaps by reason of their dual occupation it is now noticeable that many of them are setting up as land-owners and cultivators.

They are of Oriya extraction and have seemingly migrated south in pursuit of their calling Risley considers that they are closely allied to the Sunris of Bengal and writes * that " according to Hindu ideas, distillers and sellers of strong drink rank among the most degraded castes and a curious story in the Vaivatra Purana keeps alive the memory of their degradation. It is said that when Sani, the Hindu Saturn, failed to adapt an elephant's head to the mutilated head of Ganesa, who had been accidentally beheaded by Siva, Viswakarma, the celestial artificer was sent for and by careful dissection and manipulation he fitted the incongruous parts together and made a man called Kedara Sena from the slices cut off in fashioning his work This Kadara Sena was ordered to fetch a drink of water for Bhagavati, weary and athirst Finding on the water's bank a shell full of water, he presented it to her, without noticing that a few grains of rice left in it by a parrot had fermented and formed an intoxicating liquid Bhagavati, as soon as she had drunk, became aware of the fact and in her anger condemned the offender to the vile and servile occupation of making spirituous liquor for mankind. Another

* Thurston's Castes and Tribes of Southern India

story traces their origin to a certain Bhaskar or Bhaskar Muni, who was created by Krishna's brother Balaram, to administer to his desire for strong drink A different version of the same legend gives them for ancestor Niranjan, a boy found by Bhaskar floating down a river in a pot full of country liquor and brought up by him as a distiller."

Marriage usually takes place before puberty Shortly before the time fixed for a wedding, a sal post is erected before the dwelling of the bridegroom and the wedding booth is constructed around it.

On the day fixed for the ceremony a number of males journey to the house of the bride taking with them presents such as rings and bangles together with the bride price which may amount to fifty rupees On the day following, the bride goes to the house of the bridegroom On the day of the ceremony the contracting couple are required to walk seven times round the wedding post in the presence of the officiating Brahman They then sit down and the sacred fire is raised The bridegroom is then given five shells which he holds in his right hand It is the bride's endeavour to wrest the shells from him and should she succeed, her brother makes fun of the bridegroom and beats him Similarly, if she fails, the bridegroom's sister beats and makes fun of her This and similar ceremonies take place for the following five days and on the seventh day food is placed on twelve leaves and is eaten by twelve Brahmans Widow marriage is permitted and, according to Thurston, a younger brother may marry the widow of an elder brother

The dead are usually burned and a pollution period of at least ten days is observed After the expiry of this period, the relations bathe and a Brahman is requested to raise the sacred fire At midnight a new pot is brought and holes are bored in it. A lighted lamp is placed therein and the pot is carried to the burning ghat The dead man's name is then repeated three times and he is requested to eat of the food brought by the relatives This ceremony marks the conclusion of the death ceremonies and the relatives repair to the village and hold a feast.

APPENDIX A.

Medical opinion on the suitability and acclimatisation of labour in Assam, Cachar and Sylhet.

NOTE ON TEZPUR.

The following note has been contributed by Dr Charles E P. Forsyth, M B., M.R.C P , Lond , D P H.

Tezpur as a tea-district comprises some 27 gardens situated between the Borelli and Gabru Rivers Westward of the latter are two small properties and further west again, roughly between the Belseri and Panchnoi Rivers, lies a second tea area consisting of a dozen or more newly-opened out estates The Borelli River marks the boundary between Tezpur and Bishnauth up the Valley to the east, and the Panchnoi River similarly cuts off the Mangaldai sub-division down the Brahmaputra to the west The three areas, Tezpur, Bishnauth and Mangaldai, make up the civil district of Darrang bounded by the Brahmaputra to the south, into which the above named rivers drain, and the Himalayas to the north Tezpur, the Saddar Station, is situated on the Brahmaputra and gives its name especially to the central area of the District immediately behind it, about which the following remarks are mainly concerned

From the Brahmaputra at this point the land rises slightly and gradually for eight miles northwards, displaying a wide tract of open country, well cultivated and chiefly under rice with, to a lesser extent, sugar-cane and general crops There are here and there clumps of bamboo and the country is diversified by many villages until the first tea-gardens are reached, a group of three or four estates still on *pathar* level Three miles further on, however, an abrupt change occurs and the land rises sharply to the "red-bank" upon which the Tezpur group of gardens are mainly situated, the whole tea-area covering a space of approximately 20 miles north and south by 14 miles east and west, limited to the north by a vast belt of heavy forest running up to the foot-hills and mountain ranges with the snow-peaks behind them The "red-bank" is a geological formation of considerable interest, which need not here be discussed, but what can readily be noted are the characteristic features of the district, a wide grassy tract

gently sloping to the Brahmaputra, backed by high land covered until comparatively recent times with dense tree forest, continuous with the main forests running up into the hills The grass land is now widely under village cultivation with a few comparatively small areas under tea, while the red-bank has been very largely cleared and contains about 80 per cent of the total tea-area of the district Rainfall averages 90 inches, and the temperature range in the cold weather is from 42 degs to 60 degs F, and in the hot weather and rains from 80 degs to 90 degs or higher By far the greater part of the rainfall occurs following the monsoon from about the middle of June until the end of September, the wettest months of the year being fairly consistently July and August

The division of the district as described into red-bank—or forest—and grass land exerts a profound influence on the question of labour It is only certain castes or tribes that can live and work satisfactorily on the former Aboriginal races, such as pre-eminently those derived from Chota Nagpur flourish on the red-bank gardens Mundas, Hos, Oraons and Kharias can all be esteemed first-class labour. Santhals do well Kalahandis—Porjas and Savaras—Dombs from the Madras Agency Tracts, Gonds from the Central Provinces, and Bhumijs all form desirable types of recruit. Of semi-Hinduised peoples only certain of these from Chota Nagpur are admissible as good second-class labour, such as Bhuias, Lohars, Nagbanshis and Tantis, perhaps in the order named. Those from the Central Provinces are mainly of unsuitable type and should be recruited only with caution Coolies from the United Provinces are wholly undesirable and should on no account be introduced to the district if their own welfare and that of the gardens are to be considered The same applies to the majority on the list classified as Uriyas and East-Coast peoples Paiks, Ahirs, Kurmis, Telis, Keots, Telegus, Malas, Kapus should none of them be recruited not only for a red-bank garden, but for any garden in the area It is true that certain estates have found Uriya Tantis to some extent useful, but mainly for tea-house work. They are in reality bad labour

The above remarks refer largely and particularly to gardens on the red-bank The comparatively few gardens of the district

situated on grass land, where the soil is riverine or alluvial, light in character and sandy, enjoy a wider choice of labour All will naturally prefer people of the hardy aboriginal races, who are a necessity for the red-bank gardens, but on these other estates second-class labour becomes first-class, and third-class and even at times fourth-class people do reasonably well Castes such as Telis, Muchis, Johlahs (from Hazaribagh) will live and multiply, though their industry and working capabilities can never be remarkable. Also Chamars, Ghasis, Kurmis and Khols from the Central Provinces may be admitted, but never the Telenga or East Coast people as enumerated above, with the exception perhaps of the better class Uriya, as for example, the Tanti

The differences then between the two types of garden in this district with regard to the problem under discussion are most striking and remarkable, but the causes bringing the differences about are not too easy to gather The red-bank possesses a heavy damp soil of varying depth with a sub-soil of blue clay Actual cultivation demands harder work, but important factors that seem to determine the unhealthiness of a garden are undoubtedly the proximity of forest and the heavy interplanting of shade trees The red-bank garden may closely border on dense impenetrable forest, and although the Tezpur area is now very largely cleared yet throughout its extent masses of forest continue to exist at various points The red-bank, further, is intersected with numerous *hullahs*—jheels or ravines—of varying size and depth naturally full of rank jungle A commendable tendency of late years has been to open these out for rice cultivation, and as this process goes on along with the gradual clearing of forest it may be assumed that the red-bank will improve in health conditions and thereby become more and more suitable for a wider selection of labour The group of newly opened out estates referred to above as lying between the Belseri and Panchnoi Rivers is mainly on grass land and away from heavy forest They may be noted, therefore, as suitable probably for the recruitment of other than the best type of worker

The disease chiefly prevalent in Tezpur is first and foremost malaria of malignant or sub-tertian type, though the benign is common and quartan fever occurs Hook-worm disease is rife, and a

constant warfare has to be waged upon it Of bowel-complaints the most serious is bacillary dysentery, though it has latterly diminished very much in frequency Cholera at certain seasons is widespread in the villages, but outbreaks amongst the garden labour should not occur when correct sanitary measures are in force Kala-azar has of late years invaded the gardens from the villages and the danger continues to a marked degree Some assert that the increase in this disease is due to the greater attention paid to diagnosis, but giving that view all respect, there remains no doubt but that the disease has been steadily spreading up the Valley Our attitude to this infection has latterly, however, been completely altered as the efficient treatment introduced converts a case-mortality of upwards of 90 per cent into a recovery rate of about the same figure. Tuberculosis has shown a certain amount of increase perhaps since the influenza epidemic Yaws occurs but readily re-acts to treatment, and since the abolition of the *arkutti* system of recruiting the diminution of venereal disease has been most marked Pneumonia is the one disease accountable for the highest mortality, and any successful measures taken to reduce its prevalence must most favourably affect the general death-rate

The facility of acclimatisation of new labour is primarily dependent upon recruiting the type of coolie suitable for the particular area or estate, and with this in view it is incumbent on the garden management to exercise the utmost care in the selection of sirdars Given the correct type of labourer points of importance that may be mentioned are the apportionment of light tasks to the recruit, the avoidance of over-crowding, and the presence of people of his own race or caste on the garden

The granting of periodical leave to their native districts in the case of coolies only applies to the doubtless important particular of keeping the garden in touch with the recruiting areas From the point of view of the health of the labourer it is to be deprecated, as can readily be learnt from the number of sirdars who return to their gardens affected with disease, which may be dependent in many instances, however, on the hardships they appear necessarily to undergo in their endeavours to obtain recruits

A statement is commonly made from a superficial knowledge of the facts that a high birth-rate is an indication of the general health of an estate This is erroneous as so many diverse conditions may influence the birth-rate It is, for example, mainly the better class coolie who is skilled in the use of abortifacients

The poorer *jats* as, for example, Uriyas are sufficiently fertile, but on the other hand their infant mortality from various causes remains extremely high The question, however, of the relative fecundity of the different races or tribes is often one that can little affect a garden The child-population of an estate is very dependent on local condition as, taking the Tezpur area, an enormous village population exists of time-expired coolies, which leads to a persistent drain from the gardens of children reaching a working age, to their relatives and friends outside Eventually the gardens may benefit, but the employment and economic handling of *basti* labour appear difficult, and once out of the garden and settled on their own land in the village the people may well be looked upon as irretrievably lost

CHARLES E P FORSYTH

PYSAJULI,

BORJULI, ASSAM

29th June, 1923

APPENDIX A—2.

THE DISTRICT OF CACHAR

BY

DR. G. C. RAMSAY, O.B.E., M.D., CH.B. (Edin.).

Medical Officer to the Scottpore and Tarrapore Tea Companies

Cachar is a district in south-eastern Assam which derives its name from the indigenous Cachari tribe. The district lies between 24 deg. 12 min. and 25 deg. 50 min. N. and 92 deg. 26 min. and 93 deg. 29 min. E. covering an area of 3,767 square miles. On the north it is bounded by the Kapili and Doiang rivers, which separate it from the Nowgong District of the Province, on the east by the Naga Hills and Manipur State, on the south by the Lushai Hills and on the west by the District of Sylhet and the Jaintia Hills.

The District falls into two natural divisions, the plains and the hills. The administrative headquarters is Silchar, a flourishing town with about 12,000 inhabitants. The plains form the upper portion of the Surma Valley and consist of a level plain broken up by isolated hillocks and low ranges of hills which project from the surrounding mountains. The hills surrounding the valley vary from 2,000 to 5,000 ft. in height and on the northern boundary form the line of demarcation between the Surma and the Brahmaputra Valleys.

The Surma Valley is very low lying, the north-eastern or most remote corner, which is over 200 miles from the sea averages only about 70 ft. above sea level.

The chief river is the Barak or Surma which enters the district from Manipur State at its extreme south-east corner. The bed of the river is from 100 to 200 yards in width and in places is over 70 ft. deep. The course of the river is very tortuous and during the Monsoon Season is always liable to overflow its banks often causing serious inundation of the surrounding country. The plains form an alluvial tract, the constituents of the soil being clay, sand and vegetable matter.

The Surma Valley is extremely picturesque and is typically sub-tropical, the surrounding hills are covered with dense evergreen forest and bamboo jungle, the grassy plains being dotted with rice fields and tea gardens interspersed with clumps of bamboos, rivers, woods and swamps

The climate is characterized by excessive humidity and the valley shut in by ranges of hills becomes markedly oppressive during the Monsoon Season The hottest months are June to September with an average mean temperature of about 83 degrees, the coldest month is January with a mean of about 65 degrees The annual rainfall on the plains averages about 130 ins with liability to floods from June to October

The population as recorded at the 1921 Census was slightly over half a million The majority of the inhabitants live on the fertile plains and consist of the Kachari and Manipuri tribes, Bengali settlers and tea garden coolies who have been recruited from practically all over India, the hills being sparsely populated with the Naga, Kuki and Lushai tribes

The prosperity of the district depends mainly on the tea industry, the staple food crop is rice but maize, pulses, mustard and sugarcane are also grown to a fair extent

The Valley is decidedly malarious, helminthic infections (hookworm, roundworm and whipworm) abound, cholera is endemic, respiratory affections (pneumonia and phthisis), the dysenteries (especially bacillary) and venereal diseases are prevalent, leprosy is common, yaws as I have recently pointed out is rampant amongst the hill tribes and as Powell demonstrated many years ago affects certain tea gardens to a moderate extent, epidemics of conjunctivitis and Naga or Cachar sores (abrasions infected with Vincent's bacilli and Schaudinn's spirochaetes) coincide with epidemics of "eye-flies" (Siphonella funicola), water itch and epiphytic skin diseases prevail during warm steamy weather, the latter fading away on the advent of the cold season to recur with the onset of the subsequent rains, filariasis, usually imported I have seen contracted locally, sporadic cases of "blackwater fever" occur, but except for a focus in the North Cachar Hills the district is apparently free from kala-azar

Apart from efforts on the part of the Municipality of Silchar and some Tea Companies, conservancy arrangements throughout the district are conspicuous by their absence, the water supply being usually drawn from rivers, open tanks or surface wells exposed to every form of pollution

The climate of Cachar appears to be congenial to many of the Dravidian Races. The Santhals, Mundas and Uraons, sons of soil and jungle are excellent tea garden coolies from the point of view of health and reproduction of species

The local housing conditions of these tribes should always be made to approximate as closely as possible to those obtaining in their own districts. They appear to be happier when living in small isolated *busties* with a little garden rice land to cultivate than in thickly congested tea garden lines

The latter method of accommodating coolies is in any case at all times contra-indicated as it is highly conducive to the spread of disease and epidemics

Fresh air, a cheap local commodity, is often neglected in house and line construction.

Kols, Korkus, Gonds, Bhumij, Lohars, Ghasis and Bauris take kindly to tea garden life, they maintain a fairly high standard of health and procreate freely Kurmis, Koiris, Telis and Ahirs enjoy moderately good health on acclimatisation, but Chamars, Doms, Musahars and Bhuiyas are usually extremely insanitary in their habits and the mortality amongst these castes is generally high They seem to be inseparable from their pigs like a Western nation which during the past few years has been more prolific in politicians than sanitarians

a fair resistance often eventually becoming quite satisfactory employees.

The importation of wheat-eating castes to a rice-eating District is in my opinion highly inadvisable During the transition stage when these unfortunates are accommodating themselves to their new dietetic habits, many fall a ready prey to intercurrent diseases owing to their lowered resistance

Leave to re-visit their native districts when conditions are less favourable than those obtaining locally has probably the effect of making the discontented more contented on their return, but when the conditions are reversed to send coolies on leave or sirdars to recruit during these unpropitious periods seems to me contrary to common sense

" That the population in India always expands so as to press hard upon the means of subsistence " is doubtless the commonly accepted principle of replenishing a depleted labour force, but to those of us who have witnessed the arrival of many deformed, decrepit and diseased recruits it is a decidedly expensive commercial proposition

" The coolies thou hast and their adoption tried " is the attitude rightly adopted by the majority of planters in my own District A labour force responds to care as does the tea bush and the soil and personal experience indicates that the health of a tea garden population is usually a reflex of the care bestowed on it by the management

The far-seeing element who early prognosed what the ravages of the influenza epidemic would mean to the Indian labour market and acted accordingly are now no doubt in a much happier position than their less observant neighbours

---

APPENDIX A—3.

MEDICAL NOTES ON THE DISEASES OF COOLIES IN SYLHET

The following note has been contributed by Dr D Gibson, M B., CH B

The District—I am stationed in the Doloi Valley, where I help to look after the health of the coolies for the Patrakola, Allynugger and Dauracherra Tea Companies The Valley, like many more in the Surma Valley is horse-shoe shaped, bounded to the east and west by low hills and opening out from the south to the north The flat land lying between these hills is well opened out in rice fields, with the *bustees* of the tenants studded about the *khets* The tenants are Bengalis and also Manipuris (who have left their country), with, in addition, former garden coolies who have settled on the land The Doloi River, rising in the eastern hills to the south in Tripura, flows through this flat land, its serpiginous course giving one some idea of the low lying nature of the country—I believe about 40 ft above sea level The tea gardens lie on the lower slopes of these hills both on the east and west side with scrub jungle, bamboos and third rate timber in their vicinity Owing to the opened-out state of the district, bazars are good Fourteen miles is the greatest distance of any garden from the Assam Bengal Railway, while the nearest is only a mile from the railway.

Climatic Condition—The rainfall for the district averages 90 ins The rainy season is ushered in about April, with storms from the north-west. The wind often plays havoc with coolie lines and *katcha* buildings, while frequently the planter is disappointed with the small amount of rain which falls Thunder and vivid lightening are always an accompaniment of these storms and, alas for the garden that it hits, hail frequently does material damage to tea which is just at its sprouting stages. The true rains are from June to October, when the average shade temperature is max 90 deg and min 79 deg The cold weather lasts from November to March, the average shade temperature then being max. 72 deg. and min. 51 deg.

Endemicity—Malaria is an endemic disease which affects all castes and is most prevalent in the rains The spleen index is high on all gardens amongst the children Many new coolies however have enlarged spleen on arrival, who are therefore malarious Dysentery is endemic throughout the year, both amoebic and bacillary are met with, flies are a potent factor in their spread Cholera of varying intensity occurs somewhere in the district annually in the hot dry months before the rains and dies out when the monsoon is in evidence Occasionally epidemics occur, notably in 1918, when it was introduced from the recruiting districts or was contracted on the journey from the depôt to the gardens Anaemia, due to hook-worm, is always with us, and it is to be hoped that in the near future this disease will be largely stamped out Already water-itch, which is an evidence of hook-worm, appears to be less formidable a rains disease than in past years Acute conjunctivitis, due to that irritating little fly (siphonella funicola) and Naga sores are endemic in the rains I have never recognised a case of Kala-azar on any garden which I visited Yaws has never been noted Venereal diseases are found, but the percentage of infection is low New recruits sometimes arrive with the disease developed, or, either syphilis or gonorrhœa may appear shortly after arrival Leprosy cases are found and Leonard Rogers' treatment is being carried out for these Phthisis is found on all gardens and seems to be more marked since the influenza epidemic affected these gardens in 1918

Caste Susceptibility—Malaria is general amongst all and particularly spleen index is high amongst the jungli castes Cholera is no respector of castes, frequently it appears to be the physically strongest who are caught in its dread snare The dysenteries affect Uriya and United Provinces castes more than the *jungli jats* Ankylostoma is a general disease amongst all castes and is particularly noted in the Chota Nagpur labour as also amongst the Bouries of Bengal and the Santhals, Madrassies and Uriyas Phthisis is prevalent amongst Madrassies and is less pronounced amongst the jungli castes

Acclimatization—I would say that a great deal depends on whether the recruits to that particular garden have others of their caste on that garden, if they have, then the new people soon settle

down, also Santhals, Uriyas and Madrassies on the other hand, take a long time to become acclimatized and it is frequently only the generation born on the garden, who become a useful asset to the labour. Jungli castes appear to be suited for tea gardens I know of a garden in my district where Chota Nagpur per cent is 35 while United Province per cent of coolies is 33, it is an extremely healthy garden and appears to be ideal for working.

Periodical leave to their Native Districts—I don't see that coolies require periodical leave to their country from a health point of view, if anything I think they do not, as their health is apt to be upset by such return In cases where it is recommended medically, however, repatriation is carried out.

Fecundity—I think this largely depends on conditions. Good wages, low-priced food stuffs and clothing make for increase in babies and *vice versa* Abortions are all too common on tea gardens, it is difficult to get at the root of the matter, but undoubtedly many of these are induced

In conclusion I suggest that with all that is being done for labour on tea gardens by the scientific side (the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine), on the managing agents' part by coolie welfare and by managers on gardens in nursing their labour, not to mention the medical officer in looking after their health, the time should not be far distant when labour of a good quality will be only too willing to come to tea

D. GIBSON, M.B., CH B

MADABPORE TEA ESTATE,
ADAMPORE,
South Sylhet,
14th July, 1923.

APPENDIX B.

COMPARATIVE CALENDAR.*

ENGLISH Dating from Birth of Christ A D 1	BENGALEE From the time of Badsha Akbar Commenced in 1556 A D	FUSLEE Introduced by the Emperor Akbar and computed from his accession 1555 A D Hijra 963	"HIJRA" Signifies departure or separation and refers to the flight of Mahomed from Mecca to Medina which took place on 17 7 622 A D	SAMVAT Raja Vikramaditya from 57 B C It is used in Hindustan and Gujarat
Present Year 1923-24.	1330/31	1330/31	1341/42	1980/81
(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)
(December)				
January†	9 Paus	5 Magh	5 Jamadi-ul Aswal	11 Magh
February	10 Magh	6 Fagoon	6 Jamadi us Sanee	12 Fagoon
March	11 Falgun	7 Chyt	7 Rajub	1 Chayt †
April	12 Chait	8 Bysack	8 Shaban	2. Baysack
May	1 Baysak†	9 Jetti	9. Ramjan	3 Jayt
June	2 Jaistya	10 Assar	10 Shawal	4 Asarh
July	3 Asarh	11 Sawan	11 Zil-Kaideh	5 Sravan
August	4 Srabun	12 Bhadoon	12 Zil Hejeh	6 Bhadoon
September	5 Badra	1 Assun	1 Mohurum†	7 Kuar
October	6 Aswin	2 Kartic	2 Safar	8 Kartick.
November	7 Kartick	3 Aghun	3 Rabbi ul-Aswal	9 Aghan
December	8 Agrahayan	4 Poos	4 Rabbi-us Sanee	10 Poos
(January)	*(Paus)*			

† (a) New Year 1st January
(b) " " 1st Baysak
(c) " " 1st Assun
(d) " " 1st Mohurum
(e) " " 1st Chayt

* Contributed by Babu Sudhir Ch Chakravarty

APPENDIX C

The following table from the Assam Census Report may be of interest. It shows the number of persons born outside Assam, but enumerated in the Province The very great majority of these are either on Tea Estates or have been on Tea Estates and are now settled in *bastis*.

BIRTH PLACE	PERSONS	MALES	FEMALES
Total born in other parts of India	1,216,661	671,652	545,009
Bihar and Orissa	535,565	291,847	243,718
Feudatory States of Bihar and Orissa	35,077	18,086	16,991
Central Provinces and Berar	77,082	39,740	37,342
Feudatory States of C P	14,311	7,208	7,103
United Provinces	76,982	45,803	31,179
Madras . .	54,527	27,012	27,515
Central India Agency	17,602	9,483	8,119

APPENDIX D

The following Table shows the distribution of the principal Castes and Tribes throughout the districts supervised by the Local Agents of the Association

Each Local Agency with the districts administered has been shown separately The Feudatory States have, for convenience and in order to eliminate repetition, been grouped together under two headings, *viz* Central Provinces Feudatory States and the Orissa Feudatory States

Full particulars regarding the Local Agencies from which the States are worked are given annually in the Association's Administrative Hand Book

MADRAS

DISTRICTS	PRINCIPAL DOMICILED CASTES AND TRIBES
	Local Agency—BERHAMPORE
Ganjam ...	Devenga, Dombo, Golla, Jatapu, Kapu, Konda-Dora, Kummara, Madiga, Mala, Odde, Odiya, Pano, Savara, Tsakala, Velama, Yanadi
	Local Agency—WALTAIR.
Vizagapatam (Waltair)	Boya, Devenga, Gadaba, Golla, Jatapu, Kapu, Konda Dora, Khond, Kummara, Madiga, Mala, Odde, Tsakala, Velama
MADRAS AGENCY TRACTS	Boya, Bottada, Devanga, Dombo, Gadaba, Golla, Kamma, Jatapu, Kapu, Khond, Koyi, Konda-Dora, Kummara, Madiga, Mala, Odde, Odiya, Pano, Poroja, Tsakala, Velama, Yanadi

MADRAS—*contd.*

Districts	Principal Domiciled Castes and Tribes
CEDED DISTRICTS	
Bellary Cuddapah Anantapur Kurnool Guntur	Boya, Devanga, Golla, Kamma, Kapu, Kummara, Madiga, Mala, Odde, Tsakala, Velama, Yanadi
PITHAPURAM AGENCY.	
Godavari Kistna Nellore	Boya, Devanga, Golla, Kamma, Kapu, Kummara, Madiga, Mala, Odde, Tsakala, Velama

EAST COAST

	Local Agency—CUTTACK
Cuttack ...	Barhi, Dhobi, Lohar, Kewat, Kumhar, Tanti, Teli, Pan, Savara, Golla, Khandait
Puri .	Barhi, Dhobi, Dom, Lohar, Kewat, Kumhar, Mali, Tanti, Teli, Bavuri Pan
Balasore . .	Chamar, Dhobi, Lohar, Kewat, Kumhar, Tanti, Teli, Bhumij, Chasa, Golla, Khandait, Pan
	Local Agency—ANGUL
Angul	Kumhar, Teli, Pan, Kondh, Chasa

CHOTA NAGPUR.

DISTRICTS.	PRINCIPAL DOMICILED CASTES AND TRIBES
Ranchi	**Local Agency—RANCHI** Munda, Oraon, Kharia, Pan, Gond, Ghasi, Bhogta, Tanti, Teli, Koiri, Kumhar, Kurmi, Goala (Ahir), Kamar, Lohar, Chamar, Bhoyia, Asor
Palamau	**Local Agency—PALAMAU (Daltongunge)** Bhuiya, Chamar, Dhanuk, Dosadh, Goala (Ahir), Kahar, Lohar, Koiri, Oraon, Teli, Bhogta
Singbhoom	**Local Agency—CHAIBASSA (Singbhoom)** Ho, Munda, Santal, Oraon, Bhuiya, Goala (Ahir), Lohar, Kumhar, Kurmi, Teli, Tanti, Ghasi, Gond, Kharia
Hazaribagh	**Local Agency—HAZARIBAGH** Santal, Mundas, Oraon, Barhi, Bhuiya, Dosadh, Kahar, Lohar, Kewat, Koiri, Kumhar, Kurmi, Rajwar, Teli, Bhogta, Birhor, Ghasi
Manbhoom	**Local Agency—PURULIA (Manbhoom)** Bhuiya, Chamar, Dosadh, Dom, Goala (Ahir), Kahar, Lohar, Kewat, Koiri, Kumhar, Kurmi, Muchi, Musahar, Oraon, Rajwar, Santal, Tanti, Teli, Bauri, Ghasi, Kharia, Kora, Turi

ORISSA.

Districts.	Principal Domiciled Castes and Tribes
	Local Agency—SAMBALPORE.
Sambalpore .	Bhuiya, Chamar, Dhoba, Lohar, Kewat, Kumhar, Mali, Munda, Oraon, Santal, Teli, Kolta, Agaria, Chasa, Dumal, Ganda, Gaura, Ghasi, Gond, Kondh, Kharia, Kissan

LOWER CENTRAL PROVINCES.

	Local Agency—BILASPORE
Bilaspore . . .	Lohar, Goala (Ahir), Kewat, Raot, Dhimar, Gond, Halba, Teli, Tanti, Mehara, Chamar, Kol, Kurmi, Koiri, Khond, Kori, Kumhar, Kumbi, Pasi
	Local Agency—RAIPORE.
Raipur Drug Bhandara Balaghat Chanda	Lohar, Goala (Ahir), Kewat, Raot, Dhimar, Gond, Halba, Teli, Tanti, Mehara, Chamar, Kurmi, Koiri, Gonda, Pasi, Kumhar, Kumbi, Jhadi-Telenga (in Chanda district).

UPPER CENTRAL PROVINCES.

JUBBULPORE.	Local Agency—JUBBULPORE.
Damoh Saugor Narsingpur Hosangabad Khandwa Mandla Seoni Chhindwara Itarsi	Lohar, Goala (Ahir), Kewat, Raot, Dhimar, Gond, Halba, Teli, Tanti, Mehara, Chamar, Kol, Kurmi, Koiri, Gonda, Gujar, Mena, Korku, Kumhar, Kumbi, Pasi

BENGAL AND BIHAR.

Districts	Principal Domiciled Castes and Tribes
	Local Agency—SANTAL PARGANAS (Dumka) and Sub-Agencies
Santal Parganas ...	Bhuiya, Chamar, Dhanuk, Dom, Dosadh, Goala (Ahir), Kahar, Lohar, Kumhar, Kurmi, Mochi, Musahar, Rajwar, Santal, Tanti, Teli, Sauria Paharia (Male), Kora, Mal Paharia, Bauri.
Bhagalpur ...	Beldar (Numia), Bhuiya, Chamar, Dhanuk, Dhobi, Dom, Dosadh, Goala (Ahir), Kahar, Lohar, Kewat, Koiri, Kumhar, Kurmi, Musahar, Pasi, Santal, Tanti, Teli
Monghyr (Luckeeserai)	Kora, Bind, Santal, Beldar (Numiya), Barhi, Chamar, Dhanuk, Dhobi, Dom, Dosadh, Goala (Ahir), Kahar, Lohar, Koiri, Kumhar, Kurmi, Musahar, Tanti, Teli.
TIRHUT DIVISION.	
Saran Champaran Muzafferpur Darbhanga	Beldar (Numiya), Dom, Dosadh, Chamar, Dhobi, Dhanuk, Goala (Ahir), Kahar, Lohar, Kewat (in Darbhanga), Koiri, Kumhar, Kurmi, Musahar, Pasi, Tanti, Teli, Bind.
PATNA DIVISION.	(BUXAR AGENCY).
Patna Gaya Shahabad	Goala (Ahir), Kahar, Lohar, Koiri, Kumhar, Kurmi, Musahar, Pasi, Rajwar (in Gaya), Tanti, Teli, Bind.

UNITED PROVINCES.

Districts	Principal Domiciled Castes and Tribes
	Local Agency—GHAZIPORE (and Sub-Agencies)
Ghazipore	Ahir, Bhar, Bhuinhar, Chamar, Dhobi, Dosadh, Gond, Kahar, Koiri, Kumhar, Lohar, Nuniya, Teli
Mirzapore	Ahir, Bhuinhar, Chamar, Gond, Kahar, Kewat, Koiri, Kol, Kumhar, Kurmi, Lohar, Teli
Benares Jaunpur Ballia	Ahir, Bhar, Bhuinhar, Chamar, Dosadh, Kahar, Kewat (in Jaunpore), Kumbi, Pasi, Nuniya, Lohar, Teli.
Gorakhpore	Bhar, Bhuinhar, Chamar, Dhobi, Dosadh, Gond, Koiri, Kewat, Kurmi, Lohar, Pasi, Teli
Basti Azamgarh	Dhobi, Kahar, Kewat, Koiri, Kumhar, Kurmi, Lohar, Pasi, Teli
Allahabad Fatehpur Cawnpore	Chamar, Dhanuk, Dhobi, Kahar, Kewat, Kol (in Allahabad), Kumhar, Kurmi, Lohar, Nuniya, Pasi, Teli
Fyzabad and districts operated from the Fyzabad Agency (*vide* Association's Hand Book)	Dhobi, Kahar, Kewat, Kumhar, Kurmi, Lohar, Nuniya, Pasi, Teli

FEUDATORY STATES.

State	Principal Domiciled Castes and Tribes
ORISSA FEUDATORY STATES.	
Athgarh Athmalik Bamra Baud Beramba Borai Daspalla Dhenkanal Dompara Gangpore Hindol Kalahandi Keonjhar Khandpara Kharsawan Mourbhanj Narsingpur Nayagarh Nilgiri Pal-Lahara Patna Rajghar Rairakhal Rampur	Bhuiya, Dom, Lohar, Kewat, Kumhar, Kurmi, Mali, Munda, Oraon, Santal, Teli, Bhumij, Ghasi, Golla, Gonda, Ho, Juang, Kondh, Kora, Kharia, Kisan, Pan, Agaria, Kolta, Chasa, Dumah, Ganda, Sudh, Barhi, Chamar, Dhobi, Goala (Ahir), Tanti, Agaria, Chasa, Ganda, Guria, Khandait.
CENTRAL PROVINCES FEUDATORY STATES.	
Sirguja Jaspore Gangpore	*Vide* Ranchi

FEUDATORY STATES.—*contd*

Districts.	Principal Domiciled Castes and Tribes.
Korea	
Chang Bhakar	
Borai	
Sakti	
Kawardah	
Sarangarh	
Raigarh	Population similar to that of Raipore, Drug and Chanda
Chhuikhadan	
Kanker	
Bastar	
Rajnandgaon	
Khairagarh	
Bijawar	
CENTRAL INDIA STATES.	
Rewah	
Udaipur	
Pannah	
Tickamgarh	
Orchha	
Ajaigarh	Besides the castes shown under Jubbulpore District, large numbers of Kols, Menas and Gujars are found in all these States
Bhopal	
Rewah	
Nagod	
Maihar	
Indore	
Makrai	

APPENDIX E.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1	SIR HERBERT RISLEY ..	*Castes and Tribes of Bengal*
2	R V RUSSELL	*Castes and Tribes of the Central Provinces*
3.	W CROOKE	*Castes and Tribes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*
4	E. THURSTON	*Castes and Tribes of Southern India.*
5	District Gazetteers of various Districts. Indian Census Reports for 1901, 1911 and 1921.	
6	RISLEY	*The People of India*
7	S C ROY	*The Mundas and their country The Oraons*
8	C H BUCK	*Faiths, Fairs and Festivals of India*
9	F LILLINGSTON'S	*Brahmo Samaj and Arya Samaj*
10	PROFESSOR J C OMAN'S	*Cults, Customs and Superstitions of India*
11	M EMILE SENART	*Les Castes dans l'Inde*
12	J C NESFIELD	*Brief View of the Caste system of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*
13	PRINCEP	*Useful Tables*
14	DENISON ROSS	*Feasts and Holidays of the Hindus*
15	HUGHES	*Dictionary of Islam*
16	MIRZA ABDUL FAZL	*Selections from the Koran*
17	OLIVER LODGE	*Reason and Belief*
18	TOD	*Annals of Rajasthan*
19	SIR J G FRASER	*The Golden Bough, Totemism and Exogamy.*
20	WESTERMARCK	*The History of Human Marriage*
21	HARTLAND	*Primitive Paternity*
22	ANDREW LANG	*Social Origins*
23	J L ATKINSON	*Primal Law*
24	CH LE TOURNEAU	*The Evolution of Marriage*

INDEX

F

G

H

I